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## Near East/South Asia Report

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23 May 1985

## NEAR EAST/SOUTH ASIA REPORT

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REGIONAL AFFAIRS

CHRISTIAN MOVES IN BEIRUT MAY HELP SYRIAN DESIGNS

Beirut AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO in English 25 Mar 85 pp 1-2

[Article by Marwan Iskandar]

[Text]

If current events in Lebanon seem incomprehensible, it will not be for the first time in the ten long years of civil war — a war in which the civil population has suffered considerably more than those actually doing the fighting. On March 11th, Dr Fouad Abu Nader, the commander of the pro-Phalange Lebanese Forces militia, issued a statement in which he made the following points:

1. That the Lebanese Forces, as an organized military movement, are independent of the Phalange Party; although Party members comprise some 70 per cent of the militia;
2. That the Lebanese Forces categorically reject any plans for a security pact or customs union with Syria;
3. That the Lebanese Forces would act as guardians of Christian interests in the face of mounting Shiite and Sunni Muslim and Druze demands of the government of President Amine Gemayel.

The statement ended by saying that it was not directed against any particular political personality or state. Our desire, Dr Abu Nader stressed, is to exercise independent decision-making.

The impact of this statement was immense. And was made more so when troops of the Lebanese Forces took control of strategic locations on the ground. Bearing in mind the membership of the Phalange Party and the relations between President Gemayel (whose father, Pierre, founded the Phalange), the party and the militia, the statement smacked of a rebellion by palace guards.

President Gemayel had earlier been under pressure from Mr Walid Jumblatt, the Druze leader, and

Mr Nabih Berri, the leader of the Shiites, both ministers in the national unity government. Only intervention by Damascus brought about a meeting of the three (on March 9th), at which some progress on political issues was reported.

In contrast to this apparently good news, the statement and troop movements by the Lebanese Forces seemed to amount to an attempt to undermine the authority of President Gemayel. He had earlier agreed to end some of the restrictions exercised by the Lebanese Forces, particularly the road block on the Beirut-Tripoli road, at which the Forces exacted duties on goods moving in and out of northern Lebanon.

The instigators of the independence movement within the Lebanese Forces were young, but powerful, leaders, some of whom (including Dr Samir Geagea and Mr Elie Hobeika) were all but unknown to the Lebanese public except through recent press accounts. Others are better known: these include Solange Gemayel, the widow of the assassinated president-elect Bashir Gemayel, and Mr Karim Pakradouni, a confidant of former-president Elias Sarkis and his go-between with the Syrian government from 1978 to 1982.

Public statements by the Lebanese Forces since that first one have been well argued and sought to be unprovocative. They have taken great care to stress their independence from Israel and their hope of avoiding a confrontation with Syria. In their view, the weight of political concessions has been too much in favour of Messrs Jumblatt and Berri. The young leaders of the Lebanese Forces are saying that, in Lebanese political terms, their forces and support are at least as important as the undoubted

popular support for the Druze or Shiite leaders. On this point, their claim can hardly be challenged.

To understand the motives of the Lebanese Forces, it is essential to understand the positions of the three main protagonists: Mrs Gemayel, Dr Geagea and Mr Hobeika. Solange Gemayel, an amiable young woman, has lost a husband and a daughter to the brutality of the civil war. She lives simply and is by no means a fanatic. At the time of Bashir Gemayel's assassination, her father-in-law, Pierre Gemayel, (who led the Phalange Party for 50 years until his death last year) told her she should devote her energies to the care and upbringing of her children.

Increasingly, however, Solange Gemayel has felt that her brother-in-law, Amine Gemayel, has given away too much and that many of the values and interests for which her husband lived and fought were being thrown away. She understood the restlessness of the young leaders of the Lebanese Forces and the only position she felt she could take up was at their side.

In contrast, Samir Geagea, at the age of 33, is already far more politically experienced than Mrs Gemayel. An intellectual and former medical intern, Mr Geagea joined the ranks of the Lebanese Forces for family motives. In nine years, he has fought more front-line battles than any other officer in the militia. Despite this, he has remained pensive and withdrawn. His decision to challenge the Phalange Party was clearly not taken lightly and he undoubtedly has strong support in the ranks of the militia.

To establish a solid front, Mr Geagea needed an ally in Mr Elie Hobeika. Hobeika is a young man — still only 28 years of age — who started training at the age of 16 and fighting at the age of 18 years. He has a sharp mind; is pensive rather than intellectual; and is essentially a pragmatist. Moreover, he is popular with the younger fighters. With Hobeika behind him, the stage was set for Geagea to make a stand calculated to appeal to the whole Christian community. This has clearly happened.

But so has something else, which has not yet been grasped by outside observers. The national unity government has, throughout its period of office, enjoyed legislative-decree powers (which are due to expire at the end of this month). These decree powers include the right to make treaties on economic and security issues. But the move by the Lebanese Forces has forced second thoughts on the government and upset the aims of Walid Jumblatt and Nabih Berri. On the face of it the actions by the Christian militia would seem to invite Syrian retribution. But it is difficult, despite the official warnings that it would intervene to protect President Gemayel, to see Syria going that far. Nor have the Lebanese Forces called for President Gemayel's removal. Rather, the events have set up countervailing forces that may even help Syria's overall designs in Lebanon, in that Mr Jumblatt and Mr Berri are also being forced to back President Gemayel and are losing a lot of their freedom of manoeuvre in the process.

CSO: 4400/132

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

IRAN STILL GAME FOR ANOTHER OFFENSIVE

Beirut AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO in English 25 Mar 85 pp 2-3

[Text]

The Iraqi air force continues to pound major Iranian cities after successfully halting the week-long Iranian offensive across the Huweiza marshes. The aerial bombing is in line with Iraq's current policy of escalating its military confrontation with Iran in the hope of forcing the latter to agree to a negotiated settlement of the dispute. The question now is whether Iran will give in to the pressure.

There seems to be little consensus among observers about the likelihood of Iran's preparedness to enter negotiations. There is, however, general agreement that the Iranians are more vulnerable to economic pressure than to military attacks. Not only do the Iranians feel their struggle against Iraq is justified but there is also a sense that it is holy. The resilience and capacity for suffering that such a feeling engenders should not be underestimated. Iranian resilience is further strengthened by a belief that time is on their side and that their greater numbers counter-weighs Iraq's acknowledged arms superiority.

Besides these psychological boosters, there is also the fact that Iran, seemingly against all odds, continues to score points in its military confrontations with Iraq. Several Western observers argue that Iran's success in breaking through Iraqi defensive lines, its 25-kilometre advance inland and its brief crossing of the Tigris river before being stopped by the Iraqi air force can be considered a major military achievement. Furthermore, the observers point out that the Iranians are likely to hold on to their gains east of the Huweiza marshes and, more importantly, will now be in full control of the Iraqi Majnoun oil fields.

Therefore, despite the great human cost of the latest offensive (some reports estimate Iranian casualties in the week-long fighting at close to 27,000 killed), it is unlikely that the Iranians view it as a

military defeat. Furthermore, the offensive has also clearly shown that Iran's supply of arms continues to be ensured and can help to inflict serious damage on the Iraqis. The exact identity of Iran's arms suppliers remains a matter of conjecture but speculations focus on Israel and China. Moreover, it is thought that the missiles Iran claims to have fired at Baghdad last week could have been provided by Libya.

While there seems to be little opposition in Iran to its government's handling of the war, there have been signs in the past of discontent over its management of the economy. The spiralling inflation rate (which reached 17 per cent in mid-1984), the currency crisis brought on by the drop in oil revenues and the government's decision to lift its restrictions on imports resulted in heated parliamentary debates last summer. The government's inability to fulfil the revolution's promise of reducing Iran's dependence on oil exports had initially served to crystallise opposition within parliament but also among the population in general and the influential *Bazari* merchant class in particular.

Discontent over economic issues could increase as the Iranian government is forced to apply austerity measures to secure itself financially. However, in the short run, the government may be able to diffuse opposition over economic issues by setting them against the larger context of the war effort. In other words, the Iranians may accept the burden of the added economic strains as long as the air strikes against their cities continue. In this sense, Saddam Hussein's policy of maintaining military pressure could well backfire.

According to some observers, the visit of Iran's foreign minister to Algeria signals a willingness by Teheran to mediate an end to the conflict. Algeria, which maintains good relations with both sides of the conflict and has acted as a mediator for Iran in the past, was also present at a meeting of the so-called hard-line Arab states in Damascus last week. Algeria's representatives may have taken the opportunity to sound out Syria (Iran's ally) about the possibility of negotiations. On the other hand, the Iranians have already stated that they would prepare for another offensive and would not negotiate as long as Iraq continued its aerial bombing of Iranian cities.

Given Iran's past record in the 54-month conflict, these statements cannot be dismissed as mere bravado. Iran may not yet be ready for a major offensive, but it can be expected to counter the air strikes by small ground incursions while it replenishes its military stocks and builds up its oil revenues. Iran may be down but it is far from out.

#### **Randa Takieddine writes from Paris**

Opposition Moujahaddin sources in Paris said Iran had lost some 25,000 men and claimed that Tehran had put five divisions and four brigades, some of them brought from other fronts, into the battle. Against the Iranian attackers, Iraq had deployed five divisions and six brigades, including forces from Saddam Hussein's Republican Guard.

French observers said that the Iraqis, using Soviet-supplied MiGs and French Mirages, with Exocet missiles, were trying to bomb Iran to the negotiating table.

However, Iraq has not performed as well as its formidable arms' resources might have allowed it. A US journalist, Kenneth Timmerman, writing in *Le Monde* last week and quoting foreign military experts in Baghdad, said: "The rigidity of the control exercised by the ruling Ba'ath party discourages Iraqi pilots from taking risks." The military experts said that the Iraqi Mirage-F1 wing should be evaluated at only half its nominal strength because of poor maintenance. The fact that Iraqi pilots are able to use the aircraft only at about 30 per cent of its capacity means that a wing of 60 aircraft has an effective capacity of nine aircraft. In contrast, they said, the Iranian pilots are well trained, some of them having received their training in Israel or the USA during the reign of the late shah.

Iranian sources in Paris told this newsletter that Ayatollah Khomeini received a delegation of senior military officials on March 11th, who told him that the offensive through the swamps would cost up to 20,000 lives. Khomeini is reported to have replied that the offensive would have to go ahead, "even if it cost 100,000 lives".



ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

ARMENIAN PATRIARCHATE ON REUTER'S 'DISTORTED' INTERVIEW

GF251600 Beirut ZARTONK in Armenian 31 Mar 85 pp 1, 4

[Text] The following correction received by the secretariat of the Armenian Catholic patriarchate with a request for its publication concerns the news we reported with great reservations in our Friday issue, taken from REUTER News Agency which concerned a brief interview given by the Armenian Catholic Patriarch and which was completely distorted by REUTER for ulterior motives. It gave the impression that the Armenian Catholic spiritual father simply and only "condemns the forceful acts carried out against Turkey."

We give the full text of the interview as well as the note sent to us and we in our turn request from the patriarchate to use its entire authority to demand an appropriate denial from REUTER, or else we all know what kind of a feast the Turkish and the entire anti-Armenian media will have on this occasion.

[Signed] ZARTONK.

[Message of Armenian Patriarchate of Lebanon]

Honorable editorialship of ZARTONK.

The REUTER report on the interview with His Holiness Armenian Catholic Patriarch Hovanness Bedros Kasparian is full of ideas which have been taken out of context as you have also admitted [in your editorial comment] when you published it.

Thus, we give the correct part of the original text of the interview and request that you make a correction in your daily for the sake of truth, to reveal the plot, to warn your readers on these holy days of the 70th anniversary, and publish this part of the interview which clarifies the expressed ideas.

Question: We know that the Turkish Government denies the Armenian genocide. How can you explain such a surprising difference of perception on a historic event?

Answer: It is possible to distort a historic fact but it is not possible to deny a fact that has taken place at the beginning of the 20th century which has been called a civilized century. The genocide was perpetrated by the Turkish Government against its loyal citizens.

Question: What is the official stance of the Armenian Catholic church on the demands of the Armenian people and particularly on a number of extremist groups such as those stated by ASALA?

Answer: There is no doubt that we support the demands of our people, but not some of the various measures. For 70 years our just demands did not achieve any positive result. This situation in its turn created a fierce movement among the youth ranks and they resorted to terrorism and killing, for which, I repeat, we do not agree as clergymen. In our belief killing is not permitted, not even to restore just rights. The Armenian cause has been an isolated question until today. I would wish the revision of this question before international courts.

CSO: 4605/150

ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

CANADA REPORTEDLY FEARFUL OF 'NEW INCIDENTS BY ARMENIANS'

Istanbul MARMARA in Armenian 23 Mar 85 pp 1,4

[Text] Toronto---After the second interrogation of the three Armenian terrorists who seized the Turkish embassy in Ottawa, the judge decided to turn them over to a pretrial court where they will be tried on 7 May.

The defendants are: Kevork Marashlian, 35; Hovhannes Nubarian, 30 and Raffi Titizian, 27. The pretrial court will carefully examine the position and the situation of the suspects and all the relevant documents, and when it is seen that everything is in compliance with judicial regulations the suspects will be turned over to a trial court. If the evidence at hand is found to be insufficient, the suspects will remain under custody until the body of evidence is completed.

According to Canadian law, a procedure of "pretrial hearings" is implemented in serious and important cases. In this procedure, the judge reexamines the documents, the demands of the prosecution and the evidence at hand. Thus, the nature of the charges is determined and is officially announced by the judge.

During the hearing in Ottawa two days ago, the prosecutor charged the three Armenian terrorists with seven separate counts of criminal offense. In addition, to "first degree premeditated manslaughter", the prosecutor charged the suspect with seven other criminal offenses and demanded that they be tried on all the charges. A group of Armenians gathered at the entrance and exits of the Ottawa Provincial Court staged a big demonstration in support of the three suspects.

During the hearing, the judge asked the suspects, as a matter of formality, whether they plead guilty. The three Armenians refused to plead guilty and said: "No, we are not guilty."

In addition to the crime of killing the Canadian security guard at the embassy, the three Armenian terrorists are charged with the following seven offenses:

1. Assault on the official residence of an internationally accredited diplomat with the purpose of committing a crime.
2. Exploding bombs with the purpose of demolishing the Turkish embassy building.
3. Illegal possession of hand grenades.

4. Use of pistols and guns while committing an aggravated crime.
5. Forceful entry into and seizure of a restricted building.
6. Subjugating the 12 staff members of the Turkish embassy and holding them by force.
7. Torturing and assaulting Nurcan Kilic, an embassy employee, and Gulcan Kirca, the ambassador's daughter.

Meanwhile, it has been reported that two well-known attorneys have agreed to defend the suspects in court and that a renowned French lawyer will join them.

Two of the suspects live in Montreal and the third one lives in Toronto. After the three suspects surrendered following the Ottawa incident, Armenian organizations in Canada hired two lawyers to defend their case. The two lawyers are Philip Aslanian and Norman (Baxel).

It has been learned that the third attorney who will join these two defense lawyers is Jerome (Choquette) who is of French ancestry. (Choquette) is a well-known lawyer who has served as attorney general in the city of Montreal and the province of Quebec and who is known as a shrewd politician.

It is now clear that the Canadian authorities failed to act properly despite repeated appeals [for tighter security] by the Turkish embassy to Canadian officials and security services. The Canadian foreign ministry has been blamed for the incident and has been sharply criticized by the opposition. The incident has provoked lengthy debates in the parliament, and opposition deputies have demanded that [the government] apologize to the Turkish government for its failure to carry out its duties properly. Secretary of State for External Affairs Joe Clark has come under heavy criticism, and the Liberals and the Socialists have been insisting on the need for an apology.

Speaking in the parliament on behalf of the main opposition party, parliamentarian John (Nunziata), who is known in parliamentary circles as a "critic of police and security affairs," said that the Canadian security service had information about preparations for an Armenian operation prior to the Ottawa incident and that, however, it did not pay any attention to the said information. (Nunziata) stated: "The Armenian problem must be the foremost security concern of the Canadian security agencies."

It is reported among security circles that new Armenian attacks and operations may be expected in the future. (Nunziata) also said that there are terrorist networks among the 40,000 Armenians living in Canada and that security agencies must penetrate them in order to collect intelligence about Armenian activities ahead of time and not to be caught by surprise.

9588  
CSO: 4605/142

ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

PAPER NOTES PARTY STATEMENT ON KIDNAPPING

GF241459 Beirut ZARTONK in Armenian 31 Mar 85 p 1

[Text] We have learned with grief that on Thursday, 28 March, Sarkis Zeytljan, a member of the Armenian Revolutionary Dashnak Party Bureau and editor of "AZTAG-WEEKLY," was kidnapped by unidentified armed men in Zuqaq al-Balat quarters, along with his bodyguard-driver Garo Kolanjian.

According to well-informed sources the incident occurred around 1000 near the district mosque on the curb leading to N. Palanjian college. Four armed men, after stopping Zeytljan's car with their car, entered it using force and then drove the two cars to an unknown destination.

On this occasion the Armenian Tashnak Revolutionary Party Central Committee has issued a statement in which--after condemning this vile and grave deed--states that contacts and efforts on all levels are being made to find S. Zeytljan and his bodyguard. As yet, no one has claimed responsibility for the kidnapping.

CSO: 4605/149

ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

ARMENIAN PARTIES CONDEMN LEADING MEMBER'S KIDNAPPING

GF251114 Beirut ZARTONK in Armenian 2 Apr 85 p 1

[Statement issued in Beirut by the Armenian Revolutionary Dashnak Party Central Committee of Lebanon, the Armenian Henschak Party Administrative Body of Lebanon, the Armenian Ramgavar Party Regional Administration of Lebanon---date not given]]

[Text] The kidnapping of Sarkis Zeytlian, member of Armenian Revolutionary Tashnak Party Bureau and editor of "AZTAG WEEKLY-TROSHAK" is deeply resented by the Armenians of Lebanon and the entire diaspora.

The kidnapping took place on the morning of Thursday, 28 March in Zuqaq ak-Balat district on the Nshan Palanjian College Road. S. Zeytlian's associate, Garo Kolanjian, also was kidnapped.

The inquiries made at all governmental and political levels as well as with and the follow-up and search to ensure the release of the kidnapped have been futile.

We consider this fiercely condemnable act a deed against the Armenian community of Lebanon, particularly during these days marking the 70th anniversary of the Armenian genocide when all Armenians everywhere reaffirm with decisive unity their demand for their rights.

This deed, which was carried out by criminal hands, is a heavy blow also to our Lebanese fatherland, which in this fateful stage of its history needs the unity and cooperation of its children more than ever in order to overcome all the plots aimed at leading this country to final destruction.

The Armenian national political parties on this occasion declare that in spite of all such plots, which are aimed at destroying the moral vigor of our people and their will of confrontation and spirit of unity, the Armenians will more determinedly continue to hold on to their just rights and to the Lebanese cause for territorial and human unity and independence.

[Signed] The Armenian Revolutionary Dashnak Party Central Committee of Lebanon; the Armenian Henschak Party Administrative Body of Lebanon; the Armenian Ramgavar Party Regional Administration of Lebanon.

CSO: 4605/151

ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

ASALA ALLEGEDLY USES FAKE DOLLARS 'TO HARM TURKISH ECONOMY'

Istanbul MARMARA in Armenian 9 Apr 85 pp 1,4

[Text] The authorities have confirmed that the ASALA [Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia] and the Mafia are collaborating to flood the Turkish market with fake dollars in order to harm this country's economy. According to these circles both ASALA and the Mafia "launder" in Turkey the "dirty money" procured overseas, and it has been determined that currently there is on the market a large amount of fake or criminally procured dollars, deutschemarks and Italian liras whose serial numbers have been recorded by national police organizations and Interpol. This money is converted into goods or "safe currencies" on the Turkish market.

It has also been determined that the fake dollars that have been on the Turkish market for a while were printed in Italy and that they were brought into the country through the collaboration of ASALA with Mafia. It is reported that certain dark circles currently operating in Turkey primarily as narcotics traffickers are in contact with these organizations. These circles have been pushing these fake dollars into the Turkish market systematically with the collaboration of the Italian Mafia, and Turkish authorities have been monitoring their activities carefully. Turkish intelligence services have also learned that preparations are under way in an Italian printing shop to print fake dollars bills with a face value of \$100 million, and security organizations have been alerted to be careful. According to the information obtained, the Mafia is employing ASALA specialists skilled in forgeries to prepare these fake dollars.

The purpose of this new conspiracy against Turkey is to undermine the economy. In this "economic assault," ASALA is assisted by a number of secessionist circles. By flooding the Turkish market with large amounts of dollars and deutschemarks, these groups want to upset and weaken the Turkish economy.

ASALA and the secessionist groups are helped by the fact that currently there are not enough experts in Turkish banks to differentiate between genuine and fake dollars and deutschemarks. Indeed, the fake bills are so expertly forged that an ordinary specialist would find it very difficult to differentiate them from the genuine ones.

The authorities have reported that these fake foreign currency bills, mainly dollars and deutschemarks, have been circulating all over Turkey. Thousands of

them have been found in banks and markets in Ankara, Agri, Adana, Afyon, Diyarbakir, Edirne, Gaziantep, Hatay, Istanbul, Izmir and several other cities.

These fake dollars, manufactured through the collaboration of ASALA, Mafia and Turkish secessionist groups, are brought to Turkey by persons carrying Middle Eastern passports; Turkish workers abroad are also used for this purpose.

The fake foreign currency bills began entering Turkey in the summer of 1984. Since then the police have arrested several carriers.

Security officials have determined that a well-known Turkish family which is involved in narcotics trafficking is in close collaboration with these groups. It has been learned that a member of the said family, who is married to an Englishwoman, has recently ordered a large amount of fake dollars from the Mafia. The Turkish police is currently working together with Interpol to deal a major blow to the Mafia.

9588

CSO: 4605/143



ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

ASALA MEMBER REPORTEDLY COMMITS SUICIDE IN PRISON

Istanbul MARMARA in Armenian 15 Apr 85 pp 1,4

[Text] ASALA [Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia] terrorist Aram Basmadjian, who together with a group of accomplices seized the Turkish embassy in Paris on 24 September 1981 killing security guard Cemal Ozen and critically wounding Consul General Kaya Inal, has committed suicide in the Fleury-Merogis prison in France. Aram Basmadjian was one of the four terrorists who had seized the embassy. His body was found hanging from the bars of his prison cell.

Prison officials have testified that Basmadjian was a recalcitrant and rebellious prisoner and that as a result he was placed in a special security cell with a guard assigned to check his cell every half hour. The officials stated that Basmadjian must have suffered a seizure during one of these half-hour intervals and must have hanged himself from his cell bars using the lower portion of his pajamas. According to the communique issued by the prison, the guards found Basmadjian's body at 8:15 pm the day before yesterday.

The attorney general's office in Ivry has undertaken to investigate the incident and has asked for a postmortem of the 25-year-old Armenian terrorist's body. Basmadjian's body has been transferred to the Paris autopsy center in order to determine the causes and circumstances of the prisoner's death.

Basmadjian, who was a member of ASALA, seized the Turkish embassy in Paris on 24 September 1981 together with three accomplices, Kevork Guzelian, Hagop Chulfayan and Vazken Sislian, and took the fifty occupants of the embassy as hostages. The four assailants called themselves the "Yeghia Keshishian Suicide Squad" and labeled the attack as the "Van Operation." The incident lasted 15 hours causing anguish and concern to everyone. In the course of the attack, the assailants killed Cemal Ozen, an embassy security guard, and critically wounded Consul General Kaya Inal. Following negotiations with French authorities, the four terrorists surrendered, and they went on trial on 31 January 1984. The Criminal Court of Paris sentenced them to 7 years in prison, but Aram Basmadjian's attorney argued that his client's offense was of second degree because he had only acted as an observer and had carried the weapons. But the court rejected that argument and sentenced Basmadjian to 7 years in prison.

9588  
CSO: 4605/144

23 May 1985

## ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

## ASALA REPORTEDLY FORGES PASSPORTS; SYRIAN COMPLICITY CITED

Istanbul MARMARA in Armenian 25 Mar 85 pp 1,4

[Text] It has been learned that the forged dollars that are found in various countries are printed in Beirut and are then sent Syria where an elaborate network has been set up to distribute them systematically around the world. According to the information obtained, the network is being run by international terrorist organizations, including the ASALA [Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia] which has closely collaborated with numerous international terrorist organizations for a long time.

According to the same information, the said network has recently begun printing forged passports in Beirut for delivery to narcotics and arms smugglers and terrorists who operate in all major centers of the world. Turkish intelligence services have so far confirmed the existence in Beirut of two printing installations which manufacture virtually flawless Turkish passports and which give them to the said organizations.

According to the conclusions of Turkish police, these identity papers and passports are distributed in Syria among persons who are involved in shady businesses and who use them for their own needs.

Although Turkey and Syria have a mutual security agreement and although a meeting was recently held between Turkish and Syrian representatives about the scrupulous implementation of this agreement, certain circles insist that the Syrian government is aware of the activities of this network and that it ignores it knowingly and with a degree of silent complicity which is at odds with good neighborly relations, particularly since it has been proven that the network uses forged dollars and passports extensively and in dangerous and worrisome proportions. It is known that dark forces primarily dealing in narcotics trafficking utilize them to conceal their true identities and to blemish Turkey's reputation before world public opinion in case they are caught. The Turkish police has determined that currently there are numerous terrorists with forged passports in Turkey, Greece and southern Cyprus.

9588

CSO: 4605/141

EGYPT

ARTICLE CRITICIZES ISRAEL, U.S. MIDDLE EAST POLICY

Cairo AL-MUSAWWAR in Arabic 22 Mar 85 pp 60-61

[Article by Khalid Muhammad Khalid: "Our Father Who Art in the White House, Thy Will Not Be Done"]

[Text] AL-MUSAWWAR may disagree with Professor Khalid Muhammad Khalid, not in the general concept of his analysis of the most recent American position on the Middle East problem, but in the vocabulary which Professor Khalid uses, which is a pointed, angry expression of his opinion.

Perhaps also some of the numbers have escaped Professor Khalid Muhammad Khalid when he draws a comparison between the American aid programs to Egypt and the American aid programs to Israel. This comparison must be made within the framework of the supplementary aid to the two countries.

Even so, AL-MUSAWWAR publishes the article of the major Islamic writer, because it reflects, in spite of the vehemence of its expressions, a part of Egyptian public opinion and its reaction to American caution about Washington's becoming an active participant in the comprehensive peace effort.

Truly, it is a worn out series...telling the power of man to go to new records in all possibilities of falsehood, distortion, contempt for the truth and bias for falsehood, as we are reminded by the aphorism, "What is most common in life, if not the baseness of man." This is the series which the theater of the White House in America has shown for 40 years on the unhappy, unique issue, the issue of Palestine.

Forty years! The stars of this wretched series were the presidents of the US, and its senior politicians, who played their parts without attention to the principles and values built by the early pioneers, such models as Washington, Jefferson, Franklin and Lincoln, who built with them a free country for free citizens.

Long ago a philosopher said, "detachment is the beginning of wisdom." Another philosopher followed up on this, saying, "the beginning of folly as well." It seems that the detachment in which America sought shelter for a long time has stricken it with an attack of folly, and has caused it to forget each noble duty of rationality, justice, wisdom and correctness.

If this is not so, how can we explain the position of the occupants of the White House on the Arab and Israel problem? This problem, which began under Roosevelt, reached its tragi-comic peak with Truman, who was preoccupied with it and inflicted the wound. The position continued and advanced with the other presidents, until it finally has come down to and has come to be borne by Holy Father Reagan. This is the Father who faced his people during the last electoral campaign boasting of the details of his electoral program, speaking of the need for the US to return to the principles and moral practices of its religion and about advancing Christianity and returning creation to its Lord, as his chief responsibility if he was reelected president of America. Then, in the days following this speech, the Jewish and Zionist leaders in the US raised their baying voices and their impudent objections, refuting and rejecting what Reagan had said, interpreting this as a threat to the Jewish religion.

Then the courageous, distinguished, honorable Father Reagan swallowed his previous, candid words and began to wrap them with interpretations which could satisfy those who do not want religion and virtue for the American people.

Reagan went to demonstrate his regret, to offer in another speech a most fatuous apology for a most noble matter.

Then he got on his horse again and returned to his seat in the White House, with American Jews having no credit for this return.

The analysts and commentators among the Arabs were delighted, forgiving. I want to speak about the Arabs. They said that Reagan is liberated from the coercion and pressure of the Jewish votes since he does not face another presidential election. These good people forget that there is another vote belonging to the American Zionists. Every president and major politician fears it. It is the vote of treacherous bullets which they fire in assassinations aimed at anyone for whose assistance they completely lose hope. Rather, it is used for the most vile of the [Zionists'] purposes and the most wicked of their conspiracies and their aggressions. American officials are filled with a thousand apprehensions about this.

How unfortunate for America, its president and its leaders. Zionism has put them between its two vicious pincers. If American policy had anything good to say of it, it is that it is no longer threatened by a new decline. This is because it has reached the bottom, beyond which there is no bottom.

Have the masters of the White House of yesterday and today not read the warning of their great pioneer, a foremost politician and leader of American independence, Benjamin Franklin? Let them listen to him now.

In an elegant statement on the American nation which he published in 1789, a farewell address, as it were, since he went to meet his Lord one year later, he said: "The US is exposed to a grave danger, which the presence of the Jews creates for it. Wherever the Jews take up residence, the moral level and honor in trade declines. If they fear persecution, they eventually strangle the countries in which they live. Look at Spain. Look at Portugal. They will change the form of the government for which our blood flowed and for which many of us sacrificed our lives. If you do not expel the Jews, our descendants will suffer much from them. I warn you, sirs. If you do not expel the Jews your children will curse your graves. They are a threat to our country." This is reported in the book "The Zionist Challenge" by (Jack Dimal) and (Mary Lareau).

We do not incline toward this generalization in which Franklin treats Jews as Jews despite our high regard for his political and patriotic opinions which, according to his thought and consciousness, the Jews of his era in America reversed.

Although we pour all of our wrath on Zionism as a harmful secretion, even a cancer, its malignant tumor has grown not just on the Jewish body, but on the body of all mankind. If the Zionist says, "The US belongs to its politicians, its leaders and all Americans, so do not listen to Franklin, abolish him because he was anti-Semitic" (!!), let us read to him what a Semite, son of a Semite, descendant of a Semite, the distinguished Jew John Beattie says: "The American presidents bow before Zionism just like the believer bows before a holy tomb" (!!). "The Jewish minority in the US has attained a degree of power and ambition which puts America in immediate danger of a third world war"!! This is from the book "The Zionist Challenge."

We return to "Father Reagan."

In an Israeli radio broadcast at 7:30 last Thursday evening, 14 March, the announcer read a statement attributed to a senior political official, in which he said, "Israel is pleased with the US position in the Reagan-Mubarak talks, since they concluded in their announcing--that is, the Americans--their unwillingness to play any role in the talks proposed. It is up to the Arabs to turn immediately to direct negotiations with Israel." The NEW YORK TIMES published these painful words the same day.

The American officials told President Mubarak that they were not able to respond to his requests for major economic assistance, due to the serious problems from which the American economy is now suffering. The American president considered the suggestions of President Mubarak for the peace process a "positive contribution," but he nevertheless convinced his counterpart that peace can be reached by means of direct Arab-Israeli negotiations. The American president did not comment on the Egyptian president's call for the American government to conduct talks with a joint Palestinian-Jordanian delegation, because the American officials do not think it necessary to undertake the suggested intermediary role between the Arabs and Israel. The American administration refused to respond to some Arab states who want the US to

return to concentrating its diplomatic efforts on the pursuit of peace, as under the previous administration of President Carter. The American administration thinks that the time has come for the Arab states to follow the example of Egypt, and to negotiate with Israel!!

These political ideas of Mr Reagan and his administration, reported by the NEW YORK TIMES, demonstrate a loss of wisdom. Long-ago, Anatole France said, "What distinguishes man from the animals? Lies and manners."

From this view, the American administration is human, because they lie!! and because they have manners!! Moreover, Anatole France thought the lie and manners to be among the characteristics of mankind.

As for the lie, it became apparent in their rejection of the request by Egypt for economic assistance on the pretext that the economy is depressed and starved. Imagine! From where do those billions come which are rained upon their "mistress," Israel, in all manner of free gifts?!

Our Father, who art in the White House, oh residents of the terrestrial globe. During the 4 years of his first term, he gave Israel \$4 billion in military aid, more than half of it a free gift. He also gave \$2.758 billion in economic aid.

This year, 1985--which Reagan is about to name "The Year of the Famine"--in relation to the American economy--the clever president "signed" the resolution to raise American aid to Israel to \$1.8 billion in free gifts and \$1.2 billion in direct economic aid, and emergency financial assistance in the amount of \$1.5 billion! Thus in this year alone, Reagan and his administration will have showered on Israel \$4.5 billion! AL-MAJALLAH magazine No 266.

This to Israel! Then, when it comes the turn of Egypt, Reagan's face reflects the emaciation and suffering of the American budget, which made him offer to Egypt, regretfully, sorrowfully and painfully, \$300 million, apologetic that the eye is long and the hand short.

Four billion dollars for the favored mistress--Israel--and \$300 million for Egypt.

Perhaps I am correct if I think that President Mubarak was only prevented from refusing the paltry and funny \$300 million by his good manners, and the duty and courtesies of hospitality.

As for manners, they are visible in Reagan's description of the suggestions of Mubarak as a "positive contribution" to the peace process. This is no doubt Father Reagan's manners. True, sly, cunning manners, but in any case he does have manners.

One definite fact remains, which is that Reagan had destroyed the fragile, modest bridge which the Arab states set up for the passage to peace! Did he not reject participation of his great country in the mediation proposed by President Mubarak, which was also doubtlessly suggested by King Fahd in his recent visit to the White House?

I say: Is this refusal an indication or meaning of anything other than that Reagan does not want peace and stability in this area of the world? Peace and stability will smash the security of Israel, and restrain its panting desire, which is not satisfied with what it has seized and which does not allow cessation!!

What does Reagan want? What does his administration want?

Look...it is up to the Arabs to undertake direct negotiations with Israel. "We do not think it is necessary to undertake an intermediary role between the Arabs and Israel. We think that the time has come for the Arab states to follow the example of Egypt, and to negotiate with Israel"!!

It is only thanks to his abundant manners that he did not conclude his speech with the words, "lowly ones." In this last paragraph, the logic of president Reagan and his administration reveals all the contradictions of their policy!

If he wants the Arabs to follow the example of Egypt, America must play the role of participant, not just intermediary, since it was this role in the negotiations between Israel and Egypt which lead to a treaty!

We might have anticipated that the politicians in the White House would put a drop of honey in the bitter cup they have given us to swallow, for these 40 lean years.

We have waited for this. But woe to the anxious, those in need!

Also, there is the dismissive use of the veto whenever the UN Security Council takes up a resolution of condemnation of Israel--simple condemnation!

Even when president Mubarak was enjoying their hospitality, carrying an olive branch, malicious American policy toward the Arabs was not embarrassed, even though there was no reason for the use of the veto weapon.

On 17 May 1981, during his first term, Reagan addressed a graduation ceremony of an American university. Quoting him verbatim, he said: "The US will give less attention to the problems of the third world, unless they affect US interests"!!

That is, the problem of the Palestinians and the Arabs will never gain the attention of "our Father who art in the White House" unless he sees the interests of his country caught between the millstones.

The man has kept his promise! This Arab problem, its accumulation of rejection and humiliation, increases every day.

Why? Because the American interest in security is far from security.

Thus President Mubarak was in agreement when the Americans declared clearly that American interests in the region will be in certain danger if the peace efforts are unsuccessful.

Isn't time wonderful? The great men of the likes of Washington, Jefferson, Adams and Lincoln have disappeared.

Do you think the American president is ignorant of what the Israelis have done in Lebanon in recent, sad past days? Is he ignorant of what is being done today in the south of Lebanon, where villages are being destroyed, and the children who are pulled from the ruins and fire orphaned, women widowed and old men destroyed?

Has he read the agonized words--not, by God, written by Arabs, but, rather which have been said, have been written with copious tears, by a fairminded Jewish writer, Hal Lehrman, which I quote from the book "The Zionist Challenge":

"After I toured the country," he means Palestine, "region by region, I was able to verify that the Israeli army was most excessive in their brutal behavior, even toward non-combatants among the Arabs. Many Arab villages were blown up by the army, and the Arab residents forced to leave. Many of these villages did not participate in the fighting, but this did not save them from attack and destruction...they destroy them so that no one will ever return to them."

In spite of this, "our Father who art in the White House," in the end of last year, sent a letter to the annual conference of the American Zionist organization. This is the text of some of its passages.

"Our support goes to Israel, our sister in democracy, our strategic ally and close friend. This support is from the essence of the responsibility of our Western democracy, and for the sake of our interests. I always look on Zionism as an essential aspiration of the Jews. I condemn those who compare the beauty of Zionism to the ugliness of racism. (!) By establishing the state of Israel, the Jews have made possible the restoration of government of themselves, by themselves, in their historic homeland, to thus realize a dream thousands of years old."

You, oh Father President, you and your administration are blessed with bountiful gifts which give to you unprecedented power to miscarry the facts!!

It is your right to have us acknowledge and witness that you have warned and are excused.

It is right that we acknowledge--this time--you did not deceive us. You did not perform your dance out of view, but rather on a wide, spacious stage equipped with the most modern electronics, making it possible for viewers, spectators and observers in all areas and parts of the world to see the truth.



When Abba Eban was foreign minister of your ally, your friend, the delight of your eye, Israel, he said, with impudent but weighty words: "What Israel wants, is to 'balkanize' the Middle East," that is, to transform it into separate, fragmented mini-states, over whom--eventually--Israel would have dominance!

Read your story with Isreal, prepare a witness, demonstrate to him your coddling of it, your blessing of its aggression.

Review your position of the recent days, of the week past. Did you really defend truth? Did you refute falsehood? Were you inclined to peace? Did you give anything, even mere comfort, to those who are oppressed in their land and driven from their streets and homes. Not at all! You never will! By no means, therefore, may your will be done, or the will of someone other than you, as long as the "ruler of the heavens and the earth" lives. And he does not die, he will never die.

A request remains of the reading brethren: whoever is proficient in English, and able to translate this article accurately and intelligently, let him do it, and send it to "our Father who art in the White House" Reagan, to let him know that he has been found out, because Arab consciousness is capable of doing so.

12780

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23 May 1985

EGYPT

## ECONOMICS MINISTER RESIGNS OVER COURT INDICTMENT

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic 6-12 Apr 85 pp 20-21

[Article by Ihsan Bakr: "Values Court Hands Down Judgment in Banks and Currency Dealers Case; The Court Pronounced Judgment and the Minister Resigned"]

[Text] Finally, and after 6 months of a hot political controversy the likes of which Egypt has not experienced since July 1952, the curtain descended on one of the most serious political and economic cases in Egypt. Last Saturday, 30 March 1985, the Values Court handed down its decision in the banks and currency dealers case, issuing a sequestration order against 16 defendants and acquitting four bank leaders. The court indicted the minister of economics, Mustafa al-Sa'id, and his family, saying: "Suspicion surrounds his decisions to close the accounts of some currency dealers, decisions that constituted an economic catastrophe dictated by ulterior motives known only to the decision maker; the open-door Mafia is responsible for the high prices."

The state court demanded that "honest reputable people" take over the responsibility of running the economy. One hour after the court issued its decision, Dr Mustafa al-Sa'id submitted his resignation as minister of economics to President Mubarak who accepted it immediately, appointing Dr Sultan Abu 'Ali as the new minister. Meanwhile, President Mubarak decided to appoint 'Ali Najm as governor of the Central Bank and also decided to form an advisory group of senior economists to draw up independent economic policies for Egypt that will not change with the change of ministers. He emphasized that the objective of the next stage is to achieve stability and tranquility, avoid tremors in economic institutions and adopt all necessary measures to guarantee the independence of the Central Bank which will fall directly under the jurisdiction of the prime minister.

From October 1984 to February 1985, after 44 sessions of the Values Court, the case of the banks and currency dealers was the talk of the town in Egypt. It is not an exaggeration to say that no other decision has aroused the kind of controversy, clamor and loud accusations as did the economic decisions issued 3 months ago. In the shade of such a clamor, the truth was lost and the Egyptian people could no longer discern whether these decisions were right or wrong or whether they were the beginning of the end of the open-door consumer policy and an attempt to deal a blow to the brokers and to control prices or they are--as the opposition Wafd Party says--an attempt to go backward to the closed-door policy and to the Nasir policy of the sixties.

Ever since October 1984, when 20 defendants--including Sami Hasan 'Ali, a physical education teacher who became the largest currency dealer in Egypt's history, amassing \$9 million through his daily contacts with banks while his annual dealings totalled \$2 billion; 'Ali 'Abdallah Jamal, the well-known Lebanese millionaire; and 'Abd-al-Rahman Barakah, the director general of the Hong Kong Bank and cousin of the resigning minister of economics, Mustafa al-Sa'id--were brought to trial, and as soon as the Values Court opened its sessions, assistant Socialist Prosecutor Justice Husni 'Abd-al-Hamid got off more than one resounding bomb. In the court's opening session, he directed his famous warning to Dr Mustafa al-Sa'id, the minister of economics. This went on for three heated sessions that were so sensational that the defense objected to the prosecutor's argument, accusing him of calling for a revolution when Husni 'Abd-al-Hamid literally said: "Some people have brought a catastrophe upon Egypt, people we could have curtailed were it not for special circumstances. But things will change soon and the grip will be lifted off the banks and the Central Bank. Everyone will know the right way. Beware of the day when the people will become angry. They put up with you and are patient, but their patience will run out. When this happens, they will take you by storm, God willing, and tear down your fortresses which will be of no use to you." Here, Dr 'Abd-al-Mun'im al-Shirqawi, the lawyer of the minister of economy's relative, objected, saying: "This is a call for revolution and very dangerous talk which I hope the court will disallow." The Socialist Prosecutor replied, saying: "No, this is not a revolution. When the people are demanding their rights, you cannot call it a revolution."

All the political forces in Egypt were occupied with the banks issue. Some supported it while other attacked it vehemently. The conflict reached its utmost limit when Minister of Economy Mustafa al-Sa'id announced his resolutions on 5 January in the name of the cabinet. Less than 2 weeks following the issuance of these economic resolutions, political circles in Egypt were saying that the resolutions did not meet with the approval of Prime Minister Kamal Hasan 'Ali and that there was a schism in the cabinet over them. It became clear to all that there was a severe disagreement between the prime minister and his minister of economy. Kamal Hasan 'Ali insists on the amendment of these resolutions while Mustafa sa'id, on his part, is determined to proceed with them and has demanded a 3-month time limit.

The National Grouping Party, under the leadership of Khalid Muhyi-al-Din, announced its support of Mustafa Sa'id's resolutions on grounds that they lay the foundation for dealing a harsh blow to the open-door policy, the currency dealers and the brokers and are an attempt to save the Egyptian economy that has been facing ruin at the hands of the brokers and the open-door policy banks. As for the opposition Wafd party, it waged a very fierce campaign against the minister of economy, accusing him and his backers of collusion with the Egyptian left that espouses a policy of "reverting to the gloom of the sixties and of eliminating the private sector." Wafd leader Fu'ad Sirraj-al-Din warned of the consequences of the government's economic policy, should it persist in it, emphasizing that Mustafa Sa'id's insistence on his erroneous policy will lead the country to economic collapse. He also cautioned against the possibility of the economic collapse turning into total ruin if the government did not handle the situation carefully.

The astonishing thing is that Mustafa Sa'id faced this ferocious campaign alone, without any backing from even the National Party, the ruling majority party of which Mustafa Sa'id is a leader and an elected deputy with an overwhelming majority, besides being a member of the party's general secretariat. The National Party remained silent in this campaign and no one knew anymore whether it supported or rejected its minister's resolutions or whether there was a split within the party over them.

In the shade of such silence and with the emergence of the conflict within the government, Mustafa Sa'id asked to deliver a statement in the People's Assembly, saying: "I challenge any individual trying to impugn my integrity or question the seriousness of these resolutions." However, the assembly asked him to be patient and wait until the Values Court handed down its decision.

The Values Court decision put an end to the banks and currency dealers case and cast suspicion on Mustafa Sa'id and his family. The chief of the Values Court, Justice Husni 'Ammar, held a press conference during which he issued 10 recommendations demanding assistance for the Central Bank in its capacity as the bank of banks, regulation of the money exchange profession and the application of the conflict-of-interest principle whereby no one with interests in the financial market may assume a leading economic position. Only hours after the court handed down its decision, President Mubarak issued his resolutions concerning an extensive reorganization of the Egyptian economy.

Several questions still persist: Has the file of the banks and the open-door policy case been closed with the resignation or removal of Mustafa Sa'id and the Central Bank governor, or does this case have other ramifications that will come to light soon? And, will the minister alone bear the responsibility for the issuance of these resolutions or do they reflect the cabinet's policy and, therefore, the responsibility is collective?

Some circles say that it is not enough for the prime minister to oppose the resolutions of his minister, only to let him proceed with his policy for a period of 3 months during which the effects of such a policy reflected on the government as a whole and that the entire government should have resigned. These circles also raised the following question: What is the future of the open-door policy in Egypt and where is it heading?

There is no doubt that President Mubarak wanted to give the court full freedom to proceed with the trial arrangements and issue its decision to be carried out by the prime minister, after which he can start a new phase. The question is: "Did a new phase actually begin in Egypt or is it merely surgery for a few months to be followed by a comprehensive cabinet reshuffle?"

Only President Mubarak can answer all of these questions.

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EGYPT

AUTHOR VIEWS EGYPT'S INTERNATIONAL PERSONALITY

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic 6-12 Apr 85 pp 67-68

[Article by 'Isa Ibn Hisham: "'Pharoanism' Is Past Tense and 'Arabism' Is the Present and Future; Claims of 'Pharoanism,' 'Phoenicianism,' 'Syrian Nationalism' and 'Assyrianism' Are Aimed at Repudiation of Arab Nationalism and Disintegration of Arab Unity,"]

[Text] With the publication of the fourth volume of his book, "Egypt's Personality, a Study of a Genius of a Place," Dr Jamal Hamdan accomplished a cultural and ideological feat considered to be one of the most significant and outstanding accomplishments in Arab and Egyptian literature in recent years. [It is] four huge volumes, in about 3,000 pages about Egypt's character, Egypt's geography and Egypt's history from ancient times to the present. This effort required many long years which Dr Jamal Hamdan spent at home in Cairo researching, investigating, studying and writing in a seclusion similar to that of monks and Sufis [i.e. mystics]. [This was] after he left his job as an experienced professor at Cairo University to bring to the people a mature and complete scientific and ideological work of art.

AL-TADAMUN visited Dr Jamal Hamdan at his home in Cairo where he has been living for some years. He told AL-TADAMUN that he was in the process of working on an abstract of his encyclopaedia in one volume. The purpose of this volume is to put it within the reach of students, researchers and educators in general. After this work, he has two other projects: a study of Syria's personality and a study of the Maghreb's personality, similar to what he wrote about Egypt's personality.

When asked about the origin of the word "personality" ["shakhsiyah" in Arabic], he immediately answers that he is not in any way an advocate of regionalism or isolationism. On the contrary, he is Arab to the core, a point he explained in the foreword of the first volume on Egypt's personality. He believes, however, that some Arab regions have a clear historical and geographic personality that does not at all conflict with the separate pan-Arab ["al-'Arabiyyah al-Qawmiyyah"] personality.

Dr Jamal Hamdan is not just another academic researcher. He is a first class political thinker and has had many studies and research works published in the Egyptian and Arab press. During the 'Abd-al-Nasir era, he was one of the prominent faces of that phase.

Although he has devoted his time to writing this encyclopaedia, he maintains an interest in the nationalist battles of the Arabs. When he talks about his political views on this or that issue, one can sense that the scholars' enthusiasm is no less than that of the fighters and the revolutionaries. But scientific talk is more durable than political talk. When Dr Jamal Hamdan talks about certain ideological issues, he commands all your attention because it is a discussion of science, ideology and maturity all put together.

Dr Jamal Hamdan believes that Egypt's Arabism is a complete and perfect Arabism and, if it has been brought into question, it is not alone in this sphere. Sudan has been described as African and not Arab; the Maghreb has been labeled Berber rather than Arab; and, at one time, Lebanon was called Phoenician. Likewise, Iraq did not escape such charges. In other words, all parts of the Arab world outside the Arabian Peninsula have been branded in one way or another as non-Arab or Arabized on the grounds that prior to their Arabization, the indigenous population was not of the Arab race. This principle breaks down the minute that "racial Arabism" is rendered a requirement. Arabism has, above all, a cultural rather than a racial content. Nonetheless, the human blanket that covers what is considered now as the Arab world is basically one bed from one root. At least the heterogeneous mixture and the blood union between the Arab newcomers and the indigenous population is a far-reaching historical fact.

Dr Hamdan cries out: "It seems strange to insist that the Arabs and the Jews are cousins because Isaac, the father of the Jews, is a step-brother of Isma'il, the father of the Arabs, while ignoring the father-son relationship between the Egyptians and the Iraqis on the same basis. Add to that the most serious anthropological scientific fact that the Jews are not the sons of Israel because they melted and faded away through their sexual comingling with the "goyim" [i.e., the Gentiles] and turned away from Judaism, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the admission into Judaism of the Europeans who are the forefathers of the great majority of world Jewry today. So, should not Egypt or Iraq be Arabized after the immediate marriage of relatives, not a kind of self-impregnation or inter-marriage, on a broad geographic scope?

Prior to Islam, Egypt had the two largest branches of the Arabs: the seafaring Qahtanis who settled in the [Nile] valley and mingled with its inhabitants and the 'Adnanis who roamed the eastern desert as nomads and, therefore, did not mingle with the Egyptians. These are the people whom the Pharaohs fought for a long time. This clearly means that the Arabization of Egypt preceded the Arab conquests and the Islamic era and that it is as ancient in Egypt as it was in the Sudan, although the conquest itself was the decisive step.

Dr Jamal Hamdan says: "Pharoanism in Egypt belongs to the past while Arabism is the obvious and actual presence. Pharoanism is a name, whereas Arabism is a deed, or Pharoanism is past tense while Arabism is present tense. Hence, whereas Pharoanism belongs to the past, Arabism looks to the future. Consequently, Egypt's destiny is Arab from the political viewpoint as the Arab's destiny is Egyptian from the civilizational point of view."

Dr Hamdan tells you: "Egypt's Arab history makes up 35 percent of its Pharonic history, based on the maximum of the latter, or about 45 percent, based on the minimum. As for Egypt's entire written history, the Pharonic part is 74 [percent] at the most, or 57 percent at the minimum, compared with 26 percent for Arab history. In other words, our Arab history is equal to approximately one-third to one-half of our Pharonic history and about one-fourth of our entire history. So if Egypt is Pharonic through the grandfather, it is Arab through the Father."

Dr Jamal Hamdan refuses to discuss the claims of "Pharoanism," "Phoenicianism," "Syrian nationalism" and "Assyrianism" if they mean a repudiation of Arab nationalism, an abrogation of Arabism and a defeat of universal nationalism by closed patriotism. He rejects this forthwith and has no use for any discussion in this regard.

He believes that, from a scientific viewpoint, these claims are a fettered weapon that backfires on its owners. They do not realize that they run away from the single national presence and revert to their old temporal local patriotisms to seek refuge from it. They try in vain to free themselves and revolt only to fall once again into its triumphant engulfing domain.

All such patriotisms are originally, and in the pre-Arab era, integral parts of one ancient common origin. They were all related as they are now related in the post-Arab era. Consequently, their parochial patriotism claims are scientifically worthless for extricating themselves from Arabism. All they do is stigmatize them with ossification and historical apostasy that places the dead past ahead of a real live present, throbbing and bursting with vitality.

Thus, if the peninsula's territory is the Arabs' peninsula physiologically and ethnologically, Egypt is their peninsula from the political and national point of view. Hence, whether history is considered a filtering or a thickening agent, Egypt is becoming more Arab with the passage of time, and its Arabism is growing deeper and denser, perhaps contrary to some parties. In light of this fact, these conjectures raised from time to time about Egypt's Arabism in particular seems truly strange and downright ignorant.

Dr Jamal Hamdan objects to political unity and African constitutionalism, to wit, the endeavors to set up a single African state to include the whole continent. He believes that such a call is purely "Ethiopian" and African unity must be a "unity of action" only, whereas Arab unity is a unity of being and of destiny. The first is not aimed at constitutional unity, while the essence of the other is constitutional unity and political assimilation. To put it another way, the Arabs are brothers and brethern while the Africans are neighbors and friends; Egypt's relationship with the Arabs is that of kinship while its relationship with the Africans is that of good neighbors.

However, Egypt maintains special relations with two Arab countries, Sudan and Syria. With regard to Sudan, there is the geographic proximity and the hydrological unity of the Nile Valley which makes it the closest and most contiguous region to Egypt throughout history, as is the case with Syria where the bond is proximity and strategic unity. This is a "hydrological unity" and that is a "strategic unity." In other words, between Egypt and Sudan and between Egypt

and Syria is an old relationship that goes as far back as the pre-Arab era and extends to the post-Arab era.

And because this relationship was reflected in the past in that Syria and the Sudan were the closest countries to Egypt and inter-related with it politically and militarily, it is no coincidence that they were also the ones that, in one way or another, entered into a political union with Egypt in modern times. Therefore, Sudan and Egypt among the Arab countries are, just as Syria and Egypt, once again like twins among brothers.

Egypt and the Mediterranean Sea have a special relationship. Jamal Hamdan believes that the Mediterranean Sea is one dimension of the Egyptian orientation. This constitutes an indisputable issue. The Nile flows into it in the north and Egyptian life flows along side the Nile towards it. Egypt in its entirety looks toward it and turns to the north. The country, as it towers over it with a somewhat vast commanding littoral front, and as the sea represents one of its four sides, or more correctly, the only live side directly connected to the inhabited Egyptian area, in view of the fact that the west side is dead and the south and east sides are semi-dead, the country cannot but interact and co-exist with the sea. In other words, the fact that Egypt is surrounded by desert, as is Syria and also Anatolia, has compelled it to turn to the Mediterranean and to link itself with Europe as it has linked them to each other as well and to Africa and Asia. Therefore, Egypt is unwaveringly more Mediterranean than tropical or African.

All the close ties that bind Egypt to this or that issue notwithstanding, Egypt basically and ultimately is Egypt and shall remain Egyptian by virtue of its connection. Dr Jamal Hamdan tells you that Egypt, in its territory, people, civilization and population, and despite all the threads and common lines that link it to its continental dimensions, is neither totally African, although it is located in Africa, nor totally Asian, although it adjoins it; nor totally European, although it is opposite it. It belongs to all these horizons without being totally there. Indeed, when all is said and done, it remains Egyptian in origin, development and affiliation. Whereas Egypt takes from each of the three continents a specific side from abroad, it can be said internally that Europe may start at Alexandria, Asia at Cairo and Africa at Aswan. Consequently, the Delta is more Asian-Mediterranean than African while Upper Egypt is more of a passage point between Africa and Asia. Herein lies Egypt's uniqueness as a region among regions. It stands out as a geographic wonder seldom repeated in the world.

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EGYPT

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23 May 1985

EDITORIAL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, CURRENT POLITICAL NEEDS

Cairo AL-AKHBAR in Arabic 24 Mar 85 p 12

[Editorial column by Mustafa Amin: "A Thought"]

[Text] We still solve our foreign problems by means of the community cafe. In the great World War, participants in meetings in cafes devised war plans for the combatants, each one of them a marshal. Hitler must attack from the east! No, Hitler must attack from the south! Hitler's real name is Shaykh Muhammad Hitler, and when he is victorious, Islam will spread everywhere! No, Hitler will make Egypt an empire encompassing all Middle Eastern countries! The war ended and Hitler came to an end. And the leaders of the cafes discovered that there was no Rommel, no Montgomery, no Eisenhower among them.

Today, we study foreign affairs in the intellectual setting of the cafe. Why did President Reagan not receive President Husni Mubarak at the airport? They do not know that traditionally the President of the United States receives kings and presidents at the White House, just as President Mitterand receives important visitors at the door of the Elysee Palace, and the Queen of England receives kings and presidents at the door of Buckingham Palace. The times have passed in which kings wait for kings at airports. In Egypt, President Husni Mubarak receives kings and presidents at al-Qubbah Palace. They fly by helicopter from the Cairo airport to al-Qubbah.

Some think that Husni Mubarak's trip to Washington failed, because he did not return from America carrying 3 billion dollars and a solution to the Middle East problem. We forget that the system in America is different than the system in dictatorial states. The president of the republic in democratic countries is not able to improvise a decision. Agencies must study and research it. He is not able to raise aid. He is not like Harun al-Rashid, able to distribute gold as he wishes. Some media organizations make a mistake when they portray the situation as if it is honey and tahina, ignoring the strength of international Zionism, which declared war on the visit, because Egypt is steadfast in its independence and steadfast in its relations of brotherhood with the Arab countries.

In spite of what some American newspapers published, we know that the ideas which Husni Mubarak presented in America were met with interest, even though the Arab states are divided and their differences weaken the entire Arab position. We render Israel the greatest of services by our differences.

Some people imagine that President Husni Mubarak's visit to the Russian embassy to express condolences on the death of the Chairman of the Republic of the Soviet Union, and to offer congratulations to the new Chairman, had no previous analogy, and that it is an indication that Egypt renounced the U.S. and threw itself into the arms of the Soviet Union. In truth, it was a protocol visit. President Reagan previously had made a condolence visit to the Russian embassy in Washington. We desire good relations with the Soviet Union, but not at the expense of our good relations with the U.S.

It is important now that we address our domestic affairs, and realize that the situation calls for devoted treatment of our numerous problems. It is necessary that the cabinet be reshuffled, and we must proceed with great strides to reform. We must learn that patching alone does not improve matters, and that it is wrong to rely solely on the president of the republic. We must take upon ourselves that which is above his abilities. We want to move in every direction. We want speedier steps. It is true that in deliberation is security, and that in speed is regret. Security often leads to disaster, not just regrets. We expect that the government work 24 hours a day, not that we take 2 days vacation each week.

We want to continually reassure the people that the black era of the sixties will not return, so that the fearful grow calm, the anxious feel reassured and the pessimists feel at ease.

12780

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EGYPT

## EDITORIAL ENCOURAGES POLITICAL PARTIES TO BROADEN ACTIVITIES

Cairo AL-AKHBAR in Arabic 26 Mar 85 p 16

[Editorial column by Mustafa Amin: "A Thought"]

[Text] Political parties must move beyond the city of Cairo. We do not want Cairo to be the only center of politics in Egypt. Thus we welcome the fact that parties are resuming organizing in the rural areas and in Upper Egypt. We wish for the day when the National Party holds a conference in Zagazig, and the Wafd Party a conference in Asyut, and the Grouping Party a conference in Tanta, thereby spreading political activity to every village and city in the rural areas of our country. Politics is not the politics of Cairo only. We notice that the major newspapers pay more attention to Cairo than to the rest of the republic. We wish that each newspaper would cover the news in all of the republic.

I wish that the parties would consider publishing local newspapers; that the Labor Party publish a daily newspaper in Alexandria, the al-Ummah Party publish a daily newspaper in Port Sa'id. The expenses of a local newspaper are much less than the expenses of a newspaper in Cairo. The Wafd Party has had a daily newspaper in Alexandria, called WADI AL-NIL. It had wider distribution than the Cairo papers. The National Party had a daily newspaper in Alexandria, under the editorship of Shaykh 'Abd-al-'Aziz Jawish. The People's Party had a newspaper in Alexandria, called AL-THAGHR, edited by Professor Sulayman Fawzi. Although this party has published a daily newspaper in Cairo, its newspaper in Alexandria was livelier and more widely circulated than the People's newspaper published in Cairo.

We had hoped that the parties would become more active after the elections. But we have noticed a period of inactivity which has befallen most of the parties. Perhaps the cause is the tenacious, arduous effort they expended in the election battle, when they engaged in grinding battles; or perhaps the weakness of the ruling party lead to weakness of the other parties. We have noticed that the parties are in need of devoted members who give the party activity 24 hours a day, touring the countryside, meeting groups and strengthening relations among members of the party. I still object to representatives and members of the Consultative Council keeping their government posts in addition to their parliamentary positions. I think that the cause of the inactivity which is occasionally observed in Egyptian politics is the small number of people devoted to politics.

The parties are still negligent in the matter of including youth groups within them. Perhaps the reason for the aversion of many youth is that some of them have desired to jump to the first ranks, forgetting that leadership requires hard work, continual practice, sacrifices and passage of time. A mistake of some of the youth is that they want to reach the top of the pyramid without climbing up stone by stone. Politics has no elevators to carry members to the higher floors. Opposition parties are not able to distribute posts to those affiliated with them. The path is rugged, full of exertion and sacrifice, persistence and perseverance. The opportunity is present for anyone who wants to struggle and strive. Sacrifice is available for all. But there are no positions vacant for opportunists and careerists.

A party with 10 believers is stronger than a party with 1000 careerists.

12780

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EGYPT

MUSA SABRI ON MUBARAK'S PEACE PROPOSAL

Cairo AL-AKHBAR in Arabic 27 Mar 85 p 1

[Text] Yes...before the American president, a sacred duty, which is that he undertake a historic role in achieving a comprehensive, lasting peace in the Middle East, at a time when a golden opportunity for peace presents itself. This is what President Husni Mubarak said in Washington after the negotiation session with Reagan.

In my opinion, the Soviet Union will never be able to undertake this role, because it severed diplomatic relations with Israel, even though it is committed to Israel's right to exist, recognizing it thus as a sovereign state, a member of the United Nations. But America, under the leadership of Reagan--it is the leading great power--is in a strategic alliance with Israel. Moreover, the Jewish American Zionist power possesses influence which has swelled to its utmost within America. Therefore, Reagan has more power than other leaders of the world, West or East, provided that he carries out his role.

The West European powers have not been successful up to now in carrying out this role, in spite of the previous resolutions issued by the European summit. President Mubarak's negotiations in France, England, West Germany and Italy in the recent phase were to persuade the leaders of these states to support steps towards peace which have been created by Egypt's proposals after the announcement of the agreement between Husayn and 'Arafat. These capitals are clearly and publicly supportive of the pioneering Egyptian turn towards peace, truly and actually. Craxi, the prime minister of Italy, will chair a European summit conference in Brussels in a few days (March 31). Moreover, Egypt has relations with the six other European states which are members of the conference. We are demanding support of the Palestinian-Jordanian-Egyptian initiative.

The support from the European summit forms, firstly, moral pressure on America, in spite of the needs of most of the West European states in the broad outlines of their foreign policy with the U.S. It also forms international public opinion which enriches steps toward peace. The basic initiative demanded of America remains. We have recently read official statements by Reagan and Schultz declaring that the American role is moving--after the visit of President Mubarak--with the recognition that the President of Egypt played and plays a major and sizeable role in this area. Moreover,

it was announced that Mr. Murphy, an assistant secretary of state for America, will undertake a fact-finding tour of the Middle East to consult on possible steps for implementation. I hope that these American steps will not be just an echo so that American policy--which has been frozen before the problem of peace for a long time--will appear to have changed from the negative to the positive. A result of this would be to ruin American standing in the Arab world and threaten American interests. What is required now--before the fire becomes hotter--is a real, positive development in the American position, taking this opportunity which presents itself.

This clear picture needs no explanation. But the communist writers in a paper of the communist Grouping Party think that Egypt announced its proposals before Mubarak's trip, with prior agreement with the U.S. At the same time, in the same story, these writers wrote that America rejected the Egyptian proposals. I do not know how it is possible that Egypt agree with America on proposals which Egypt announces, in order for America to reject them.

A marxist writer described the statement to President Reagan--that he can play a historic role in the sacred duty toward peace at a time when a golden opportunity for peace presents itself--as "dishonor."

Yes...in the opinion of the communists in the Grouping Party, it was dishonorable for Egypt to reject establishment of American military bases on her territory, and to urge the American President to assume responsibility toward peace. But it has nothing at all to do with dishonor. Perhaps it was from pride that a marxist writer demanded, in a paper expressing communist ideas, establishment of Soviet military bases on Egyptian territory after the 1967 defeat. This in unambiguous words and clear terms.

It has absolutely nothing to do with dishonor, but perhaps with pride, at least in the understanding of the editors of the paper of the communist Grouping Party, that there used to be a Soviet military zone on Egyptian territory which the Egyptian minister of defense could not enter.

I do not want to plunge into a discussion of the "pride and disgrace" of the communists over the past years. It is a long list that would fill volumes. It is more useful--for the sake of Egypt--that we rise above political buffoonery, that we consider ourselves above false insolence. The sacred duty of peace and opinion about it must cleanse itself by soundness of purpose and decency of dialogue.

12780

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LIBYA

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## MEMBERS OF PAN-ARAB COMMAND FORCES GIVE VIEWS

Tripoli AL-ZAHF AL-AKHDAR in Arabic 1 Apr 85 p 18

[Interviews by al-Hadi al-Warfali, Khalid al-Dib and Muhammad al-Fatih:  
"AL-ZAHR AL-AKHDAR Interviews Some Members of The National Command of The  
Revolutionary Forces Command in the Arab Nation"; dates and places not  
specified]

[Text] The Arab citizen, the Arab nation, the Arab-Zionist conflict, the imperialist assault, the reactionary plots, Arab weakness, apostasy, treason, capitulation--all these are maladies to resignation, despondency and impotence that have come to engulf us as Arabs on this piece of land that extends from the ocean to the gulf. The Arab citizen is suffering from a horrible void in his social, political and economic environment, for he is a number with no action.

The Arab nation is a deadly vision, slow suicide and parochial regionalism atop burdensome complications that aggravate the ever-intensifying impact. All this is attributable to the capital offense being committed with unprecedented treachery by the servile and submissive Arab reactionary order. And whereas great nations die standing up, the al-Jamahiriyah yesterday recorded a glorious day in its great history, [one] to be added to its glorious record of marvelous victories being registered every day on the local, national and universal level.

Through its challenge to the Arab orders of apostasy and treason, it set an unforgettable lesson that will remain etched in the memory of the Arab citizen. Yesterday, the al-Jamahiriyah recorded a great national revolutionary victory represented in the birth of the National Command of the Revolutionary Forces Command [NCRFC] in the Arab nation in order to honestly and sincerely prove its pan-Arab orientation and its determination to unify the trench of revolutionary struggle, as one that encompasses all those who are fighting against Zionism, imperialism and Arab reaction that are hatching plots against our nation, our history, our being and our civilization.

AL-ZAHF AL-AKHDAR met face-to-face with a number of leaders from the NCRFC in the Arab nation to talk about some important issues focussing on main points such as: first, real and sure guarantees for the national command march, and, second, the practical steps that constitute an action strategy for the national command. The following interviews were recorded:

First, we met with brother 'Abd-al-Fattah Ghanim from the Palestine Liberation Front to ask him about the strategic guarantees for the national command march. He said:

"Before I answer this question, I would like to pause before the announcement regarding the formation of the NCRFC in the Arab nation because it is an historical event in itself. Why? Because for dozens of years our Arab nation has been trying to reshape its position. Ever since the turn of the century, or since 1919 in Egypt...and 1916, the revolt against the Turks, the imperialist powers--France, Britain, Spain and Italy--have been trying to divide and fragment this nation to underscore division and partition which it established in its present form.

"In confronting these attempts, the Arab nation embarked upon some historical struggles, the most prominent of which, perhaps, that united the crowds from the ocean to the gulf, is the Nasirist experience that came at the heels of national and pan-Arab battle it fought in its confrontation with colonialism, Arab reaction and regional orders. Our Arab nation failed, however, to formulate its practical and political framework and to create an organizational tool able to bring about unification. The Syrian-Egyptian unity succeeded for 3 and one-half years, after which the colonialist forces and the anti-revolutionary forces succeeded in bringing about the secession between the northern and the southern regions. This was followed by endeavors from above, such as the tripartite union, the quadripartite union and the union attempts among the Arab rulers.

"It is not important, as the leader said, to sign a document because in years past we signed with rulers who reneged on what they had signed.

"The significance of what is happening today and what happened on 31 March 1985 is that the active Arab forces of all political tendencies met for the first time in the contemporary history of the Arab nation and decided to formulate their single political framework represented in the NCRFC in the Arab nation. The significance of this step comes at a historical crossroad. Why? Because imperialism, Zionism and Arab reaction, following their success in the secession process, were also able to detach the Egyptian region from the Arab nation by establishing in it a submissive reaction Arab order. Following their 1982 invasion, they are trying to pull in this treacherous reactionary Palestinian command represented in 'Arafat, the Jordanian reactionary command represented in King Husayn and the Egyptian command represented in Husni Mubarak. Therefore, the reactionary imperialist assault is at its strongest now against our Arab nation. Today, we notice a vile reactionary axis being formed with Mubarak, Husayn, 'Arafat, Saddam Husayn and the rest of the reactionary camp. At this particular moment, the Lebanese south is witnessing a revolutionary retaliation and confrontation by a force which, although it represents the Lebanese people, the Lebanese revolutionary forces and the Palestinian revolutionary forces, is fighting as a vanguard of the Arab nation and has succeeded in forcing the Zionist enemy to withdraw this time without any conditions. The Arab revolutionary forces, in my estimation, have succeeded in reawakening the Arab nation and the national sentiment



with this step. Hence, we proudly record the success of the Arab agreement to form the NCRFC in the Arab nation which was announced in Tripoli in March 1985. It must be noted here that the same forces that came together today tried 10 years ago to shape their method of confrontation in a national action framework but failed. Today, they met in a practical framework. Therefore, we can now say that our Arab nation is at the threshold of a new historical phase for its active forces have actually begun to amass their capabilities to strike at the weak point of the imperialist, Zionist, reactionary front.

"This is what particularly led to the formation of the NCRFC in the Arab nation, an outstanding historic event the likes of which our Arab nation has not seen since the turn of the century.

"But how can we translate what happened? What guarantees do we have to guide this step in the right direction in order to promote national revival?

"I can say that this force that came together is in reality an expression of our Arab nation's ailments, its pains and its feelings of injustice and oppression that have been practiced against the masses of our Arab nation. Our Arab people in Egypt, how did they feel after al-Sadat rubbed their noses in the dirt of surrender? How did they feel when they saw the Zionist flag being raised in Cairo? How does the Egyptian citizen feel when he sees the Zionists coming to Egypt as tourists who are served by the apostate traitors? It is a feeling of disgrace, of humiliation and of perdition.

"This active Egyptian force that took part in the national command no doubt carries these burdens of seeing its enemies who killed its children strutting about in the streets of Egypt.

"Therefore, I do not think that this entire force is not living this 'Arab burden.' Consequently, out of the innermost [part] of each Arab citizen will certainly emerge a Khalid al-Islambuli, tens of millions like him to avenge the treason committed by the rulers against the Arab masses in order to restore to their Arab people their pride and dignity.

"Anyone who betrays our nation and kills our children can only expect a bullet in the chest from us. This is the Arab law that we must observe. The active force that came from Lebanon is also the same force that is heedful of our masses' hopes and aspirations and, therefore, will fight for their realization.

"Moreover, the Palestinian active force must rise to the occasion in order to avoid another setback. This goes for our Arab people in Sudan, in Somalia and in Iraq. Speaking of Iraq, the Iraqi people are ill-fated because of their rulers. Our Iraqi people have suffered dozens of casualties and thousands of prisoners [of war], not to mention the Iraqi Arab capabilities destroyed by this crazy war led by Saddam Husayn. I wonder against whom this war is being waged?

"Is it in confrontation with Zionism, imperialism and reaction? It is against Iran, the Islamic revolution that, with the fall of the Shah, dealt a blow to one of the imperialist strongholds and stood with all its weight on the side of our Arab nation's issues. This, in fact, is very painful to us.

"Finally, I would like to call upon all the detachments and sides that make up the national command to rise to their responsibilities: revolutionary violence, armed struggle and the people's war. Today, we bring you the glad tidings that the active force in this nation has declared a general call to arms for the sake of total liberation."

We also met with Dr Hasan Salman from the Revolutionary Committees Movement in Iraq (the Muhajidin Movement) who told us:

"Actually, the effectiveness of this command is basically due to the reasons that led to its creation or birth. I understand only one thing, that the Arab nation is as a whole the civilization of humanity and that this nation is now living a state of what we call no choice, be it the choice of confrontation, as specified by the commander general and the secretary of the NCRFC in the Arab nation in his serious historical speech on 2 March when the establishment of the people's authority was announced. Thus, there is no choice. The Arab nation has been pushed into a certain corner that forces it to choose this course and therefore, it is an objective choice. If some differences exist among the detachments and the liberation movements, I believe we have found the solution. The difference is America. Striking at criminal America, the mother of Zionism and the shrine of the backward Arab reaction orders, is in fact a strike against the difference between us. Consequently, the difference can be brought to an end through the destruction of the common enemy. We will have no differences and we will be united, no doubt. Therefore, unity is our road to liberation and to the struggle, as circumscribed by the command: revolutionary struggle and armed violence."

[Question] Brother Hasan Salman, what are the practical steps that will comprise the strategic process that will be the national command's only course?

[Answer] With regard to the practical steps, I believe that the first and last step is a practical and real commitment to the command's decisions. We are different, and we have to be different from previous summit conferences and the like because we believe in what we wrote, unlike those who sign on things they do not believe in. We must honor the contracts we signed before God and before the masses of this great nation.

Therefore, the practical step is to strike at imperialist, Zionist and reactionary interests and to carry out suicide operations, both large and smaller ones.

As the commander said, we must break the radio sets and tear up the media papers. Let this be our sole action.

AL-ZAHF AL-AKHDAR then went to Col 'Abdallah Yusuf Ahmad of the Somali Salvation Democratic Front to get his views and vision of the NCRFC in the Arab nation.

Col 'Abdallah Yusuf Ahmad said:

"The real content of the NCRFC in the Arab nation lies in its being the practical course that has been able to absorb all the detachments and liberation movements in the Arab nation for the sake of a unified revolutionary action with a view to eliminating the reactionary forces and the Arab reactionary orders that have been unable to extricate themselves from their failures. Therefore, one basic point is the solidarity of the Arab liberation forces in finding a practical formula to confront the treason and the apostasy of the Arab orders."

[Question] From the practical point of view, what are the programs of the NCRFC in the Arab nation and what is your role in carrying out its historic task?

[Answer] The practical steps the national command is seeking to accomplish are divided into two parts. The first part is the responsibility of the national command and has to do with guiding and rectifying the steps that will have to be carried out by the revolutionary forces. Another responsibility is the drawing up of a unified Arab strategy for the Arab revolutionary forces.

The second part is the duty of the detachments that comprise the national command. It is related to the translation of the national command resolutions into a definite and tangible practical reality by dealing severe blows against America, the Zionist enemy and the reactionary Arab regimes. Add to that the raising of Arab national consciousness among the ranks of our Arab masses in order to mobilize them for the decisive battle.

AL-ZAHF AL-AKHDAR moved on to talk to brother Hasan 'Isa Jami' of the Somali National Movement to get his views on the formation of the NCRFC in the Arab nation.

Brother Hasan 'Isa Jami' said:

"The national command was able to integrate the Arab revolutionary force and unite its ranks and intensify its efforts in order to confront the real danger threatening Arab nationalism, namely, American imperialism, Zionism and the conspiracies of the reactionary Arab right.

"This is the only way we can go into battle: the unification of the revolutionary forces in the Arab nation. We must unify revolutionary strategy and revolutionary military operations; we must have a single revolutionary fighting informational trench."

[Question] What is the role of the Somali revolutionary movement in the national command of the Arab revolutionary forces?

[Answer] Our role can be summed up in stepping up resistance to imperialism, reaction and Zionism. We are on our way to toppling the agent reactionary regime in Somalia, this regime that has wrecked our people's capabilities in Somalia, so that we may mobilize these capabilities in the Arab battle of destiny. Our role is also to observe all the decisions of the NCRFC in the Arab nation. We shall work for Somalia's return to its Arab character and its effective Arab role.

AL-ZAHF AL-AKHDAR then talk with Abu Musa of the revolutionary movement within Fatah about the practical steps that will be adopted by the NCRFC in the Arab nation. He said:

"The goals that brought about this concept are primarily Arab revolutionary national unity which the backward agent regimes that do not rely on their masses have failed to achieve. The national forces came to set a true example for the Arab masses that unity is the life and the true being of this threatened nation.

"Moreover, this national command is translating these goals and purposes into practical practice through its application of the program it has drawn up and the goals it is seeking. This command includes all the forces that believe in armed struggle and revolutionary violence which it practices against imperialism, the enemy of the people, and against Zionism, facist racism and Arab reaction that rules our Arab masses by force of arms and prevents them from getting together to shape their life and future. Therefore, we are requested to translate this concept into practice, and we, in the Palestinian revolution, will concentrate our forces in one file and under one command, that of Col al-Qadhdhafi, the secretary of Arab nationalism and the leader who commands the NCRFC in the Arab nation.

"The first phase is set aside for true confrontation with the Zionist enemy who occupies Palestine and parts of our Arab homeland. We must hit this advance base of American imperialism. Zionism is an illegal presence which is totally incompatible with the presence of the Arab nation. The conflict with this enemy is that of being, not of boundaries.

"We hope we can live up to these concepts. We do have enough power to translate their goals and purposes into a practical living reality. We shall be, God willing, the pioneers in this."

AL-ZAHF AL-AKHDAR met with the Arab revolutionary command, the assault force, in Lebanon. Brother 'Arif Hadrus told us his views on the formation of the NCRFC in the Arab nation:

"The formation of the NCRFC in the Arab nation is a marvelous pioneering work. The meeting of diverse detachments and movements in one national practical framework, as a result of revolutionary efforts exerted by the leader of the Arab revolution, is a first in the history of the Arabs. For the first time, we have a unity which is removed from the rulers and the tattered structures that actually failed to achieve unity in the Arab nation's arena. The national command came as the nucleus of a real unity.

"Furthermore, the credibility of these detachments and movements that now form the national command will be demonstrated as time passes and will be determined by practical application and practice. In my estimation, there are good intentions and a consensus to make a go of this national action.

"What is required now is to define this work without regard to the unification of ideologies. This is exactly what happened with the establishment of the NCRFC in the Arab nation.

"The confrontation is one against the hostile camp, the Zionist-imperialist-reactionary camp. We have worked to make our effort a success in creating important specializations through the formation of special committees, each working to create its own action program. A single military force committed to the resolutions and programs of the national command will be formed.

"The NCRFC in the Arab nation is the best formula on which the Arabs have agreed.

"The national command is a reserve of what is left of Arab capabilities and endeavors, particularly following the emergence of revolutionary Arab symbols represented in Husayn 'Arafat, Mubarak and Saddam. The national command is exactly like Noah's ark, working with all its might to rescue the Arab nation from the drama of defeat and surrender underway in the Arab nation.

"It, that is, the national command, is a fighting and faithful revolutionary process created to wipe out the ruins of the cowardly languid submissive course."

AL-ZAHF AL-AKHDAR also met with Lt Col Ziyad al-Humsi, leader and general coordinator of the Lebanese revolutionary committees movement. He said:

"My expectations for the success of the national command are positive ones. It will be a successful step and will place Arab capabilities in a confrontation, in addition to putting all the groups in their proper places.

"I would like to say that the leader always keeps up with the activities of the revolution's struggle in Lebanon and we shall generate radical changes in the Lebanese arena, be they in military operations or ad hoc operations or against the Zionist enemy and its collaborators. We bet heavily on this command of which we are a part, and we will use all our military capabilities for the sake of its success and for the sake of total victory over the racist Zionist entity and its internal collaborators. The Zionists will soon withdraw due to the strikes by the Lebanese revolutionary national movement, of which the revolutionary committees movement is a part. This is actually an historic opportunity that will make us stronger and more determined to confront the Zionist enemy."

[Question] Does the strategy of the detachments and liberation movements that comprise the national command include anything about the confrontation with Arab reactionary orders?

[Answer] There is no doubt that there is an important clause designating a combined force from all the detachments that constitute the national command to enter into any battle, any position and any front. This is an important issue which we never dreamed would come to be. But it did come about and it must rise to the military unity level so as to be able to direct its blows at the enemies of the Arab nation such as the reactionary orders and foreign forces.

[Question] If we want to say something to the Arab citizen, who is used to seeing the Arab opposition conferences and meetings come out with nothing more than communiques, what should we tell him about the NCRFC in the Arab nation?

[Answer] The context of the national command is quite different from these conferences and meetings for its strategy is military, not just political, and, therefore, its results are immediate. In the next few days, the Arab citizen will know the truth of this national command which will shift the confrontation from self-defense to offensive action."

People of Our Arab Nation:

Until we meet on the triumphs of the NCRFC in the Arab nation and on its sacred advance towards the positions of freedom, liberation and unity.

12502

CSO: 4504/295

LIBYA

BRIEFS

SCIENTIFIC COOPERATION WITH MOROCCO--Tripoli, Shaaban 13, May 3, JAMAHIRIYAH NEWS AGENCY--Yesterday evening in Tripoli a cooperation protocol in the scientific field between the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and Morocco was signed. The protocol signing comes as a result of the recommendations of the Libyan Arab-Moroccan supreme committee in its first session in January 1984. The protocol includes cooperation in the fields of medical services, education services, exchange of expertises, researches, medical bulletins, health legislations and training. The protocol also includes cooperation in pharmaceutical products industry, medical equipment, fight against epidemics and infectious diseases and the coordination between the two countries in the international circles. [Text] [Tripoli JANA in English 0817 GMT 3 May 85 LD]

CSO: 4500/113

MAURITANIA

BRIEFS

FISHERIES AGREEMENT WITH DENMARK--The Minister of Fisheries and Maritime Economy, Taqi Ould Sidi, signed this evening an agreement with a delegation from the international cooperation sector in Denmark. The agreement concerns cooperation in the field of fisheries and contributions to covering this sector in Mauritania. According to this agreement, a draft loan of 80 million Danish kroner--500 million Ouguiya--will be presented to the Danish parliament for ratification. This loan will be used in financing the expansion of the program which is aimed at the continuous supply of our population with fresh fish.  
[Text] [Nouakchott Domestic Service in Arabic 2030 GMT 2 May 85 LD]

CSO: 4500/114



MOROCCO

LOWER MEAT PRICES DEMANDED

Casablanca AL-BAYANE in French 8 Mar 85 pp 1, 3

[Text] The majority of the citizens have not failed to notice, with increasing concern, the new jump in prices in many areas, especially in food. It is as if the authorities had completely set aside their responsibilities in this area, instituting a laissez-faire policy in a sector which is almost vital.

Fruits and vegetables, which were excellent at the beginning of this spring (because of the rains), are affected by instant rising costs, but it is especially meat, both red and white, which is experiencing truly prohibitive and speculative market prices.

Lamb has climbed to around 40 dirhams per kilogram - while beef, in many market stalls, has reached a price of 35 dirhams and more per kilo! A kilo of steak costs approximately 50 dirhams while "roumi" [translation unknown] chicken which has been fattened requires paying out approximately 18 dirhams for 1 kilo.

We will not mention fish, so rare and expensive that it gives the impression that Morocco is a landlocked country and not one bordered by a sea and an ocean.

All this goes far beyond the possibilities of the citizens' meagre purse which has already been greatly affected by a multi-dimensional and multi-sectoral inflationary spiral.

It is certain that the recent beneficial rains have encouraged both large and small scale farmers to not get rid of their unslaughtered cattle, which is appreciating unquestionably upon sale. But this cannot make us forget the role and the misdeeds of some wholesale meat dealers, who are well-known and few in number, who in fact control the meat market. They are the ones who speculate and provoke unacceptable increases. How long will this total passivity of the public authorities continue? From doing without, the population has even forgotten the taste of meat!

8956  
CSO: 4519/118

MOROCCO

POPULATION ESTIMATES, 1982-2007

Casablanca MAROC SOIR in French 19 Mar 85 pp 1, 2

[Text] Rabat--The Ministry of Planning has brought out a new set of population projections going from the year 1982 to 2007 for various users of demographic data.

These projections have taken into account the main data and trends brought out during the recent demographic operations carried out in Morocco and in particular the data from the September 1982 general census of the population and housing, as well as that of the survey on fertility and family planning carried out in 1979-1980 by the Ministry of Health. The results of these statistical operations have brought out often significant changes concerning the characteristics of the population, that is its total number, its geographic distribution, its structure by age and by sex, its fertility and mortality levels as well as, particularly, its internal mobility... These different elements, which have partially modified the perception which had been held previously of the population of Morocco on the basis of older demographic operations, impose, therefore, their consideration when determining the growth of this population in the future.

These projections constitute a homogeneous whole which has been divided into four chapters bearing on the total population, the urban and rural population, the provincial population, prefectures, economic regions, and the population of the cities.

The following chart gives the principal results relative to the total population, that is to say, the total number of Morocco's population in the middle of each projection year, the rate of natural increase, the gross birth rate and the gross mortality rate by 5 year periods, and finally the proportion of the urban population per year until the 2007 horizon.

Chart of Principal Results Relative to the Total Population

Year	1982	1987	1992	1997	2002	2007
Population	20,354,000	23,508,000	27,116,000	31,096,000	35,422,000	40,067,000
Rate of Natural Increase		2.76	2.55	2.32	2.10	1.88
Gross Birth Rate		37.7	34.3	31.0	28.0	25.2
Gross Mortality Rate		10.1	8.7	7.9	7.0	6.4
Proportion of Urban Population	42.6	47.0	49.0	52.1	57.6	59.8

8956

CSC; 4519/118

MOROCCO

# SALARY CUT FOR TEACHERS CRITICIZED

Casablanca AL-BAYANE in French 13 Mar 85 pp 1, 2

[Article by El Karzazi Moussa]

[Text] The university professors are anxiously waiting for their salaries to improve, salaries which, according to the figures reported by the SNESUP [expansion unknown], have been steadily declining since the purchasing power alone has experienced a drop of 60 percent from 1979 to 1985. But what is strange is that a category of teachers which in the past had taught in secondary schools saw its end of the year, December 1984, salaries cut with no warning.

It is well known that the month of December is the one in which expenses increase because everyone is obliged to pay up their automobile insurance and all the other sorts of taxes... And the list is a long one... Well, that is the month which the data-processing department in the Ministry of Finance chose these salary cuts, in other words the monthly stipends, of the teachers in higher education.

Thus, these cuts have affected several professors in almost all the universities and faculties, be they new or old. Even those who have spent more than 4 years in higher education have not been spared.

No criterion was observed. In some cases, the cuts amounted to 3,069 DH and this all at once, while for others the cut affected both the amount relative to longevity and a part of the monthly salary. For instance, the cut for this latter category was around 4,920 DH, all at once!

The data processing department is legitimizing its action which at the very least does not rest on any solid criterion. Worse, it is a flagrant infraction against state service measures and the laws which are in force. The department states that these cuts were decided after a review which it had carried out revealed that the teachers on the secondary level who are currently teaching in higher education are still benefiting from allowances applicable to the secondary level.

Yet by proceeding in this fashion, the aforementioned department committed an infraction because it is not its job to interpret texts anyway it cares to, but rather to make sure laws are observed.

Moreover, certain texts of the Moroccan constitution provide that the law not be retroactive and, in addition, the factor of seniority also plays a role in the sense of the non-validity of the reimbursement of allocations if they date back more than 5 years. How can this department take the liberty of taking such actions when certain professors have been teaching in higher education since 1978?

The SNESUP has sent a letter on this subject, dated 20 January 1985 to the Ministry of National Education. In the same vein, on 28 January 1985, it requested a hearing before the minister to discuss this problem and other urgent affairs.

But, until now, the officials have taken no effective measures to render justice to those concerned and this despite the protest movement and the letters addressed by those concerned to the Ministry of National Education.

It is absolutely imperative to cancel these cuts and to put into practice the agreement which was approved by the SNESUP and the Ministry of Education as to the improvement of the conditions for professors in higher education. This can only serve the interests of the country and of scientific research in Morocco.

8956

CSO: 4519/118

MOROCCO

BRIEFS

RADIO, TV ACCORD WITH TUNISIA--Rabat, April 20, (MAP)--An agreement on the exchange of radio and television programs was concluded here Friday between Morocco and Tunisia. Under this agreement, the two parties will exchange information and co-produce radio and TV programs. They also agreed to air special programs on the occasion of the two countries' national days. The agreement provides, on the other hand, for the exchange of experience in matters of radio and television and the mutual technical assistance on the occasion of the coverage of important events in one or the other country. The agreement also provides for the mutual reception of radio and TV programs and the holding of meetings with a view to ensuring the follow-up of the clauses of this year agreement. [Excerpts] [Rabat MAP in English 1204 GMT 20 Apr 85 LD]

CULTURAL PROGRAM WITH CSSR--Rabat, April 23, (MAP)--A program for cultural and scientific cooperation for the period ranging from 1985 to 1987 was signed here Monday between Morocco and Czechoslovakia. This program encompasses cooperation in several areas relating to education, sciences, staff and cadre training, culture, information, handicraft and sports. This cooperation program was signed on the Czech side by Mr Bedrich Illek, Czech ambassador to Rabat, and on the Moroccan side by Mr Mohamed Ayouch, director of cultural relations to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Cooperation and Information. [Text] [Rabat MAP in English 1212 GMT 23 Apr 85 LD]

CSO: 4500/84

WESTERN SAHARA

FIRST SAHARAN WOMEN'S CONFERENCE HELD

Algiers EL MOUDJAHID in French 27 Mar 85 p 7

[Text] The congress of Saharan women was an opportunity for the international community to assess the degree of political maturity reached by Saharan women in the liberation struggle.

SDAR [Saharan Democratic Arab Republic], (liberated territory)--The first congress of the Alliance of Saharan Women (UNFS), a congress "chahida Khoueta Hadda Lewled" [translation unknown], which was just held in the SDAR, reorganized the alliance's highest organs (the national secretariat and the executive bureau) under the new bylaws and adopted a substantial action program supported by a political declaration.

The congress also sent a number of messages and appeals for women everywhere to organize and work together.

Among the messages were those sent to the International Red Cross, UNICEF [United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund] and the upcoming UN conference scheduled for July in Nairobi.

The UNFS made a noteworthy appeal to the women of Morocco, urging them to oppose continuation of the SDAR-Morocco conflict. It also called on women around the world, particularly those in Europe, to give further support to the just struggle of the Saharan people.

It should be noted that the proceedings of this first congress were observed by more than 80 delegates representing political parties, organizations, associations and support committees coming from three continents.

It should also be noted that Mr Mohamed Abdelaziz, president of the SDAR, secretary general of the POLISARIO Front [Popular Front for the Liberation of Saguia el Hamra and Rio de Oro], attended the opening and closing sessions, thus showing the political leadership's great interest in the effective participation of Saharan women in the liberation struggle, especially in terms of the economic and socio-educative aspect of the struggle.

A large delegation from the UNFA [National Union of Algerian Women], including two members of the central committee, Mrs Fatma Zohra Djaghroud and Badra Amamra, respectively secretary general and chief of external relations, attended the congress, as did Mrs Fethia Bettahar, secretary general of the Pan-African Women's Organization (OPF).

The new ruling bodies of the UNFS, headed by Mrs Guejmula Ebbi, the secretary general newly elected by the 700 delegates to the congress, consist of a national secretariat with 53 members and a 13-member executive bureau. The two bodies were thoroughly reorganized, and now include, importantly, an official responsible for "women's affairs in the occupied territories" as well as an official responsible for immigrant Saharan women's organizations.

Also, besides an education officer--currently Seneya Ahmed, director of the "27 February" school, a women's training center--the congress elected a national secretary for external relations, Kheltoum Mohammed Khayat.

The political declaration, adopted unanimously by the congress, emphasizes that the reorganization should enable the UNFS to carry out as effectively as possible those responsibilities that have devolved upon Saharan women in the national liberation struggle. The text, which notes approvingly the "socio-political and cultural gains made by Saharan women," and the progress made along the "path toward their real emancipation in all areas of daily life," underlines the importance given by the POLISARIO Front to the role of women in the struggle and in the building of a Saharan society that is free of illiteracy, inequality and oppression. As proof, the declaration notes with satisfaction the attention given by the Saharan political leadership to women in the fields of health and education, the proliferation of day care centers, maternity wards, training centers and a number of social advances.

Finally, the political declaration of the first UNFS congress noted with satisfaction the continued diplomatic-military successes achieved by the SDAR, especially full admission to the OAU [Organization of African Unity] and increasing recognition from everywhere around the world; and deplored the persistence of Moroccan expansionism, Rabat's rejection of the OAU-UN peace plan and the renewal of Moroccan military escalation.

The first congress of Saharan women also facilitated the structural strengthening of the UNFS and highlighted the high level of conscientization and political maturity reached by Saharan women in the current phase of the struggle for independence.

The growing role of women in the task of national construction, which complements the armed struggle, is also evident in education at every level and along all fronts, especially in the fields of teaching and health. Also, one should note UNFS's virtually constant efforts to mobilize women for patriotic duties, socio-political organization work, and the care and training of Saharan children.

With regard to external relations, the UNFS, which is a member of several international organizations, is taking action to sensitize women's opinion around the world to the struggle of the Saharan people.

In holding this first congress, Saharan women are building upon a foundation that has many positive elements. In addition to their continuing and active participation in the liberation struggle, they will henceforth be applying themselves to the people's socio-economic battle. When the liberation struggle first began, more than 99 percent of Saharan women were illiterate. Today the situation has been completely turned around, since all school-age children are now being educated, and the widespread literacy campaigns have achieved results exceeding all hopes.

The Saharan people now take pride in pointing to their teachers, doctors, technicians, educators and nurses, just to name a few of the professions.

#### Saharan Women's Appeal to Moroccan Women

The first congress of Saharan women issued a number of appeals to women around the world for more support in their struggle and to come to their assistance.

The congress also issued an appeal to Moroccan women.

In that appeal, "an urgent and special appeal to Moroccan women to reject and oppose this war of extermination which is of benefit to no one but the king of Morocco and his sleeping partners, Saharan women hold out their hands to their Moroccan sisters in the hope that the latter will realize that it is their children, their husbands and their brothers who are the victims of that war of aggression being perpetrated against the Saharan people." "It falls to them to work by every possible means to bring an end to this war which works against the vital interests of our two fraternal peoples, the Moroccan and the Saharan," the appeal says.

9515

CSO : 4519/133



ISRAEL

## BLACK HEBREWS ARRESTED

Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 7 Mar 85 p 6

[Article by Amir Rosenblatt: "The Police Is Conspiring to Have Us Expulsed from Israel"]

[Text] The leader of the "Black Hebrews Sect" of Dimona, Ben-Ami Carter, claims that the police is plotting against his people, through various provocations, in search of an excuse to issue expulsion orders for the black Hebrews.

In a raid mounted by the police day before yesterday on several of the sect's apartments in the old absorption center of Dimona, four of the sect's members were arrested on suspicion of having been involved in a burglary in Mizpe Ramon, then later released.

A high-ranking officer of the Negev District Police yesterday vehemently denied the accusations of the leader of the Black Hebrews Sect, stating that they are totally unfounded.

Ben-Ami Carter said that in the past year two of the sect's members were expelled to the United States, while seven others are currently in Israeli jails for various offences.

In a talk with a DAVAR correspondent yesterday, the mayor of Dimona, Eli Halili repeated his request to settle the status of the Black Hebrews in Israel. "They are turning Dimona into a haven, into the backyard of the country. Thousands of people live in the city outside the law, within a closed ghetto, and are creating a state within the state. This is an absurd situation without parallel. People are talking today about implementing the Israeli law in Judaea and Samaria. I want to see it first implemented in Dimona," Halili stated.

## Five Detainees

A spokesman for the prisons authorities, Shimon Malka, yesterday stated that five detainees from the "Black Hebrews" sect are currently held in Israeli jails, waiting to be expelled from the country. Two of them are in the Be'er Sheva prison, and the other three in Ramla. They are accused of illegal residence in Israel.

ISRAEL

DRUG PROBLEM TO WORSEN

Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 19 Mar 85 p 7

[Article by Reuven Shapira: "Drug Problem To Worsen"]

[Text] Drugs and the war against them are extremely worrisome to the police and the law enforcement authorities in the state. The general public is not as much aware of this severe problem except through personal experience when someone close to it becomes addicted to hard drugs. As has been pointed out in one part of this series, according to all the experts, drugs are one of the main factors in property crimes in that most of them are committed in order to be able to buy drugs. Other serious crimes are also committed because of the influence of drugs. In many cases the criminals are drugged during the commission of the crime and lose the ability to understand the seriousness of their action at that time.

No one knows the number of people who are using drugs and the scope of consumption of hard drugs in the state. It is generally impossible to estimate the number of heroin drug addicts in the state. A conservative estimate is that there are many thousands who regularly use heroin and cocaine while tens of thousands use hashish. The drug market handles tens and even hundreds of millions of shekels a year. There are only a few authoritative statistics although they certainly do not reflect the consumption of hard drugs in the state. About 3000 people who declare themselves drug addicts now receive adolan (a heroin substitute) with doctors' prescriptions. The adolan is distributed free to 500 of them in treatment centers and prisons. Others purchase the adolan in authorized pharmacies. Each one of them needs at least IS10,000 a week to purchase the legal adolan. In the black market the cost of a bottle of adolan for daily consumption is about IS5,000.

It must be remembered that this refers only to declared drug addicts. Many others are not ready for obvious reasons to be exposed as drug addicts, and they purchase heroin on the black market. Heroin costs the user tens of dollars for a dose weighing one-fifth of a gram. There are many drug addicts who regularly use two, three, and four doses of heroin a day, that is they need more than \$100 (IS80,000) a day in order to maintain themselves. If the average wage in the economy is IS300,000 a month, it is clear that the drug addict cannot pay for the drugs that he needs with honest work, and he turns to crime.

Every day new addicts join the circle of hard drug users. The chief of the Police Investigations Branch, Commissioner Yehezkel Karti says: "The drug problem is very serious and will worsen. On this problem, we and the rest of the world are fighting windmills. It is a social problem for which neither the causes nor the remedies have yet been found. It is worse than cancer. It is uncertain as to what is motivating society throughout the world to destroy itself. The temptation is enormous, the dangers are awesome, and there is no solution in sight."

Commissioner Karti, who in the past 5 years has been, among his other positions, also in charge of the war on drugs, does not try to sugarcoat the serious situation. "Our involvement in Lebanon created a serious turning point in the drug problem, primarily hashish," he says. "We are flooded with drugs from Lebanon. It is impossible to estimate the quantities. Even the IDF's withdrawal from Lebanon will not change the situation unless the border is militarily hermetically sealed. Even if we withdraw completely from Lebanon but remain involved in southern Lebanon with the movement of soldiers, merchants, workers, and contractors, smuggling channels will remain. There are enormous quantities of drugs in Lebanon. The profit in smuggling them is huge, and the temptation is considerable. In the years that the IDF was in Lebanon the flow and distribution of drugs from there increased. Tons of hashish are involved. Some of it is designated for other countries and is only passing through Israel, Karti notes. "The IDF's exit from Lebanon will make it more difficult for the smugglers, but it will not stop them. Every criminal is a potential drug dealer if he has the money to make the deals. And as is known, there is no shortage of money in the state. There is a considerable amount of black market money that is ready to be used to produce profits. We are more involved in combating the smuggling, dealing, and distribution of drugs. We are investing much effort in this area. Most of the seizures are the result of exposure. If we had the money and the people to double the effort in this area, we would double the arrests of criminals and the confiscations of drugs. An enormous amount of money is being invested in intelligence, investigation, and follow-up actions in this area. The use of secret agents in the underworld is extremely costly. There is no accounting of its worthwhileness. More and more we are discovering that criminals in other areas -- robbers, burglars, and thieves -- have shifted to drug dealing because of the enormous profits. Many of the big fish that are now in prison had previously been involved in property crimes, and all of them are now involved in drug dealing."

Indeed, in recent years the police has increased its operations against drug dealers, and it is taking less action against the drug users for obvious reasons. Whereas in 1980 the police had about 1200 cases of dealing, importing, and distribution of drugs, in 1984 there were about 1950 such cases. And this, as has been said, is only a drop in the bucket. In regard to drug users, in 1984 there were only about 2,450 cases, a slight decline from the previous years.

"We have closed several heroin smuggling channels into Israel, mainly from Turkey, but it would be self-deception to say that the problem has been eliminated," says Commissioner Karti. "Today heroin is being imported from Europe

and Lebanon. The number of seizures and arrests has increased, but the supply and demand have not decreased. Today there is no problem at all in obtaining heroin in Israel. This is a tragedy, but it is impossible to prevent it. The drug problem must be attacked systematically by all the government authorities. We must work in the areas of education, public information, health, and justice. Police methods alone cannot solve the problem, but everyone is sticking his head in the sand. A drug addict who is arrested and imprisoned is released and returns to dealing in drugs. This is a one-way street to the inside. For every drug dealer who is arrested, another one emerges immediately. This problem is very troubling to the police, but it must trouble the entire state. We are investing much more in the war on drugs than in all the other areas combined, but we do not feel that we are making any progress. We do not feel that there has been an improvement or an alleviation," concludes Commissioner Yehezkel Karti.

5830

CSO: 4423/35

ISRAEL

BEDROOM COMMUNITIES IN JUDEA, SAMARIA

Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 20 Mar 85 p 7

[Article by Uriel Ben-Ami: "Bedroom Communities in Judea and Samaria"]

[Text] A new type of settlement, "bedroom communities," has been materializing recently in Judea and Samaria. Actually, all of the 100 Jewish settlements in these regions fit this description, meaning daily travel from place of residence to place of work that is located in the Dan Bloc or in Jerusalem.

The master plan for settlement in Judea and Samaria that was prepared by the Settlement Division of the Zionist Organization speaks of 600,000 to 800,000 Jews who will be living in these places within 30 years. If we add to them the Jerusalem municipal area, the Jewish population in these territories will number about 1.1 to 1.3 million people in 2010, and the Arab population, 1.2 to 1.6 million people. This projection of the Zionist Organization is contingent on the completion of the roads from Samaria to the Dan Bloc, primarily the Trans-Samaria road that David Levi has promised to complete this year.

The Gush Emunim people who talked in the early days about the "Elon Moreh spirit," through which all parts of Erez Israel would be settled, are making an ideological turnaround these days in the spirit of the time. They are no longer talking about the pioneering spirit in the settlement of Judea and Samaria but rather about opening new channels to hearts. Today they are talking about "creating quality-of-life fists for national missions," in the words of the chief of the Settlements Committee of Amana, Moshe Merhavva, a resident of 'Ofra.

This means that the period of the leaky caravans and the dilapidated pre-fabricated houses is already behind them, and its attractiveness is no longer what it once was, even in the eyes of the early Gush members such as Daniela Weiss. She and others have moved to beautiful villas (and this is definitely their right), and today they are already talking about "Build Your Own Home" with an unlimited number of levels. Everything is open. The main thing is that you come and settle in Erez Israel (naturally in Judea and Samaria).

According to the development plan of the Settlement Division of the Zionist Organization, about 5000-6000 Jewish families will join the settlements in

Judea and Samaria every year after the completion of the Trans-Samaria road that connects the Dan Bloc with the heart of Samaria.

The Zionist Organization has categorized the distribution of the Jewish population in Judea and Samaria into three demand areas that are defined in accordance with the travel time from them to the centers of employment in the Dan Bloc and Jerusalem. About 70 percent of the Jewish population in Judea and Samaria will live in a "high demand area." Its boundaries according to that definition: 30 minutes travel time to the Central Bloc under conditions of an optimal road network.

About 20 percent of the population will live in the "moderate demand area," the boundaries of which are described as "about 45 minutes travel time to the place of work in the Central Bloc." About 5 to 10 percent of the population in Judea and Samaria will live in the "low demand area" that is located, according to the definition, at a distance of more than 45 minutes travel to the place of work in the Central Bloc.

The settlements in Judea and Samaria are now seeking a self-definition, beyond their being "bedroom communities," as they are called by the Zionist Organization. The very need to travel daily to the place of work makes it difficult for them to crystalize into the community settlement and the community village as was the dream of the first settlers. While the community village, that has limited land, is designed for only 150 families, the community settlement is having difficulty finding a common denominator for the hundreds of families that want to live there.

The Jerusalem Institute for the Study of Israel was talking this week about the clash of aspirations in the community settlement. In the settlement of Qadumim, for example, there was talk at the time of the "Elon Moreh spirit" that would tie its residents to a community force and naturally to the concept of the Complete Erez Israel. After the settlers moved into permanent buildings, the settlement decided to maintain open absorption without the restrictive criteria that are customary in the settlement [moshav], the kibbutz, and even in the community village. "We must not keep the good only for ourselves," they said in Qadumim, however the open absorption adversely affected the original character of the settlement that was then united. Many sought to settle in Qadumim in order to improve their quality of life, and the settlement's internal unity began to gradually weaken. The first settlers became bourgeois, like all the people of Israel, and they lost their pioneering dedication.

The place became a beautiful residential area where the main common denominator among its residents was their residences. This is how there was created in Qadumim a conflict of interests between the ideologues who wanted to settle in the place at any cost and those who joined them who wanted to live there only because of the personal comfort. "The contribution and the commitment to Erez Israel" actually became a slogan that was obliterated in favor of the quality of life.

The commitment to the community life has now encountered difficulties in Qadumim. Recently a dispute developed over the need for guard duty as a result of the refusal of several members to fulfill their guard duty obligation. The IDF even had to put the slackers on trial.

Qadumim is an example of a community settlement that began as a solid community village, but the homogeneity of its residents was destroyed. In Judea and Samaria they are still having difficulty talking about the future of the community village that is organized and united in a cooperative association that commits its residents to work there and grants them also a mutual guarantee for their investments. In 'Ofra, for example, the community village character has been preserved in that all of its members are required to serve guard duty and to work in the cooperative plantations of the settlement. A meeting of the members of 'Ofra strictly prohibited its members to enlarge their houses out of a desire to maintain a common landscape there. Nevertheless, even in 'Ofra, like the "clans" in the kibbutzim and the moshavim, the local leadership makes the decisions. Ten organized members are sufficient to control the decision-making process that will commit all the members of the settlement.

The members of the Settlement Committee of Amana, the settlement movement of Gush Emunim, make regular tours of the new settlements. They are acting like the kibbutzim which send veteran members of the kibbutz to work with the kibbutzim in their early stages. Even they, the residents of the veteran settlements, move to the new settlements soon after they are established.

The character of the settlements in Judea and Samaria is apparently still in the process of crystalizing. The settlements begin as a community village in which classification and absorption take place, however in the course of time the community village is likely to become a community settlement in which there are no restrictive criteria for absorption. In the projected process the Gush Emunim will lose its ideological character. It will not necessarily attract the Erez Israel zealots to Judea and Samaria but rather mainly those who desire a beautiful villa at an attractive price.

Hundreds of housing units are now being built in Judea and Samaria, many with a private initiative. The question of relations with the Arab population remains unanswered. There are those who simply seek to cause it to be forgotten.

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ISRAEL

## NEED TO INTENSIFY OIL EXPLORATION

Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 6 Jan 85 p 14

[Article by Avraham Peleg]

[Text] Recently it seems that oil explorers in Israel have lost some of their enthusiasm. After all, the results thus far have been disappointing. There are experts who claim that oil exploration has failed because it has conducted--to a large extent--as in the joke about the man who lost his key by the light of a flashlight...i.e., according to a fixed line of reasoning.

Thus Professor Guy Deutscher of the physics and astronomy department and director of the Gordon Center for the Study of Energy of Tel Aviv University describes the strategy required for oil exploration as like that needed in the search for...Nessie, the monster from Loch Ness. "Apparently there are no large oil fields in Israel," the scientist says, "and we have to look for it in unusual places and in small amounts. The exploration must be conducted with sophisticated equipment at great depth under ground and underwater, like the search for the Loch Ness monster."

Another investigator from the Gordon Institute, Professor Zvi ben Avraham from the geophysics and planetary sciences department of Tel Aviv University, is convinced that there is oil in Israel. "It is a fact," he says, "that in many of the drillings conducted here, signs of oil were found, but it seems that a large reserve, ala Saudi Arabia, from which tens of thousands of barrels could be extracted each day, does not exist in Israel. Thus it follows that we must continue our exploration for oil by intensifying our research in this area and conducting more sophisticated drilling."

Professor ben Avraham contends that the large oil companies do not relate to small fields and therefore will not invest. But a country like Israel, looking for more fuel independence, needs to react differently to nonstandard searches for small quantities. Professor Deutscher also points to the circular reasoning in this area: "Oil exploration is a scientific and technological problem, but it is



unfortunate that the knowledge in this field is in the hands of the large oil companies, who, for proprietary reasons, are not interested in passing it on to others."

Professor Deutscher adds that in recent years seismic techniques have been perfected for discovering oil, thanks to, among other things, computers, that assist in more efficiently analyzing the geophysical finds. "But the essence of this scientific knowledge," he says, "is in the hands of the large oil companies--and they keep it a closely guarded secret. For instance, one oil company had information based on a reanalysis of exploration finds. The company did not directly use the information but sold it to another company. That company used it and in fact found oil..."

"The exploitation of small reserves seems unprofitable to the giant firms. They are also subject to Arab oil pressures. Thus, recently, private investors have entered the field. Similarly groups in the United States have begun to plan for the exploitation of small reserves there to compensate for the emptying of the large reserves. These economic and technological developments will bring about a change in oil exploration."

At the Gordon Center they hope to become part of this tendency. The scientists here are developing an independent and original way of thinking based on new research finds. Today oil is being sought in places that were not checked in the past, such as areas of basalt and underground heat. Geologists had always said that there was no hope of finding oil in a basalt area. Gordon Center scientists are now proposing oil exploration in the basalt areas of the Golan Heights.

Geologists also taught not to look for oil where there is a heat source since it would obviously have burned up long ago. And yet recently oil was discovered in the Gulf of California, an area in which there are hot springs up to 30 degrees Celsius. It seems that the heat has not burned up all the oil but, on the contrary, has accelerated the process of its formation. From this experience the Gordon Center scientists feel that it is worthwhile to look for oil in Israel in places where there are underground heat seepages, such as the Jordan valley and the Kinneret crescent.

A dramatic example of the power of scientific thought unfettered by oil exploration routine is the following instance: in the wake of the conclusion that the continents of Africa and America were once one continent that was separated 200 million years ago by an ocean because of geological events, scientists recently checked a segment of the West African coast. In that location they determined, there was once the delta of an ancient African river which no longer exists. The scientists reasoned that the delta exists now... somewhere on the east coast of America and that in this delta there would be oil. The scientists looked for and found the delta on the east coast of ... the United States and found oil there as well.

The discovery of oil in the North Sea, in the opinion of Gordon Center scientists, encourages the search for oil on the coast (the continental shelf) of the Mediterranean. By international treaty every country has economic rights up to 200 miles off its coast. But it is difficult to drill in the Mediterranean Sea because of sediment up to 10 kilometers thick from the Nile delta. However Professor Avraham believes that there is oil potential in this area, and of late, discovery and deep drilling techniques have been improved.

Nevertheless every Israeli asks the question why, all around us, in Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Libya and other countries there is oil and we do not have any?

Professor Deutscher answers the question this way: "Moses brought us to an area with a dense variety of geologic structures. The landscape changes over short distances, a rather rare phenomenon in the world, which complicates geophysical exploration and the search for oil. Only now are scientists beginning to get a firm grasp on Israel's structure, and that will advance the discovery of oil."

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ISRAEL

DECLINE IN TRADE DEFICIT

Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 10 Jan 85 p 6

[Article by Shraga Maqel: "The Trade Deficit Fell in 1984 by 29 Percent"]

[Text] Israel's trade deficit, which last year fell by \$1 billion, came to \$2.5 billion as compared to \$3.5 billion in 1983. That is a drop of 29 percent and comes after 2 years of steep increases in the trade deficit (18 percent in 1982 and 20 percent in 1983). The decline in the surplus of import over export trade stems from a total increase of \$645 million in exports (13 percent) and a drop of \$355 million in imports (4 percent).

From Office of Central Statistics totals for the year 1984 on import composition, it turns out that in comparison with 1983 there was a drop in the import of consumer goods (by 45 percent). In the first months of 1984 there was a sharp drop in the import of consumer goods as compared with the steep increase of 1983 (an average of about \$38 million per month). In the summer months of 1984 the imports of these products increased again, while toward the end of the year another drop was registered. The importation of high volume commodities (including mainly prepared food, clothing, medicines, etc.) dropped in 1984 as compared to 1983 by 20 percent.

The import of materials for manufacturing (apart from diamonds and fuel) reached \$3.6 billion in 1984--the highest increase registered in the import of manufacturing materials in the last few years.

The import of investment properties (apart from boats and planes) dropped in 1984 by 11 percent and totalled \$1.4 billion as compared to \$1.6 billion in 1983 and \$1.2 billion in 1982. Within the import of investment properties, the import of engines and equipment declined in 1984 as compared to 1983 by 4.5 percent and the import of transportation vehicles (apart from boats and planes) dropped by more than 40 percent.

The import of diamonds (net) came to \$881 million in 1984 as compared to \$782 million in 1983, an increase of 13 percent. On the basis of data for 11 months, diamond imports increased from 4.2 million carats in 1983 to 4.4 million carats in 1984--an increase of 5 percent.

The value of the various forms of fuel imports (crude oil, refinery products and coal) totalled \$1.6 billion in 1984, but about the same as imports in 1983.

In the import totals of 1984, it turns out that for this year there were a few changes in the relative share of groups of basic products in the import total as compared to previous years: a decline in the share of consumer goods among total imports to 7.7 percent in 1984 as compared to 10-11 percent in the two previous years. The share of the import of materials for manufacture increased by 43 percent as compared to 40 percent in 1983. By the same token the share of fuel imports within total imports was reduced from 21 percent in 1983 to 18 percent in 1984.

It turns out that the basic source of imports and the principal destination of Israeli exports in 1984, as in preceding years, was the European Common Market. The Market countries' share of the total imports was 37 percent in 1984, about the same as 1983 and two percent higher than in 1982. Similarly the share of exports to countries of the Market dropped--37 percent in 1984 as compared to 38 percent in 1983.

About 29 percent of all Israeli exports were shipped to four of the European Common Market countries (Germany, Holland, England and France), and they supplied 27 percent of all imports to Israel. The trade deficit with the Common Market countries, that was \$1.5 billion in 1983, dropped in 1984 and totalled \$1.1 billion. This reduction in the trade deficit with the Common Market was achieved in the wake of an expansion of exports by 12 percent and a reduction of imports by 6 percent.

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ISRAEL

## PROBLEMS IN DISPOSAL OF TOXIC WASTE

Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 14, 15 Jan 85

[Article by Aharon Pri'el: "Prohibited Insecticides Being Smuggled into Israel from the Occupied Territories"]

[14 Jan 85, p 13]

[Text] In Israel there are hundreds of plants in which toxic substances are being produced or stored, substances that could bring disaster to workers and those who live in the vicinity, according to the director of the Interior Ministry, Haim Qubersky, in a memo to Prime Minister Shim'on Peres.

Qubersky notes that since the government's hands are tied with regard to the treatment of poisons and toxic substances, "it is vital to coordinate the various systems within the government, industry and the scientific community in order to prevent disaster and deal with the problem effectively."

Some government ministries, in addition to local authorities, handle various aspects of production, storage and disposal of toxic and dangerous substances: the Interior Ministry, the Health Ministry, the Ministry of Transportation, the Labor Ministry, the Ministry of Defense, the Ministry of Agriculture, the Ministry of Industry and Commerce and the Ministry of Police.

Each ministry deals with only a certain portion of the problem of industrial toxins, without coordination with the other ministries and sometimes with duplication.

The director general of the Interior Ministry proposes establishing an overall policy to prevent industrial disasters in adjacent populated areas, the installation of a system of tracking and supervision, "the determination of areas of responsibility, coordination and cooperation between the various government ministries and local authorities." In a memo that Qubersky presented to the prime minister, he asserted that industrial plants had to be brought into an operational set-up to deal with an instance of mass disaster, to prepare emergency and model

programs of reaction systems to emergency situations, to gather information and to provide scientific services to other bodies.

Haim Qubersky suggests the establishment of a ministerial committee on toxic substances to include an interministerial steering committee that would direct a small staff unit, the task of which would be to draft an overall program, the necessary preparations and areas of responsibility for the respective ministries. He proposes that financing of the activities be done through a fund to be set up by manufacturers and importers of toxic substances.

The toxins involved divide into three types:

1. Insecticides and sprays in the agricultural sector;
2. Medical and scientific toxins;
3. Industrial toxins.

The agricultural sector employs the largest quantity of the various toxins. The environmental authority, on the basis of an agreement with the Ministry of Health, oversees the storage of the toxins in 1191 warehouses on kibbutzim, in packaging plants and in the suppliers' facilities. According to the section for neutralizing toxins within the environmental authority, 760 agricultural insecticides are registered in Israel. In 1983 agricultural use totaled 15,000 tons of preparations and 8475 tons of active material.

Twenty-three thousand tons of regular industrial waste is distributed per year in the manufacturing process in hundreds of plants in Israel. According to Dan Perry, deputy director of the environmental authority, the quantity of toxins produced in defense plants is secret: "We do not know how those defense plants handle the toxins they produce. At one of the settlements in the southern Sharon valley, adjacent to the military industrial plant, they insert all the industrial toxins in a deep bore, into the depths of the salt water channel at 150 meters." Perry said that if there is a problem with the bore hole, "they dump the toxins in the sea. Just a few months ago along the coastline adjacent to the defense plant, fish were dying at a high rate as a result of those toxins thrown into the sea."

In most instances the disposal of toxic substances is done without supervision or protection. "There is a law on the transport of toxic substances, but there is no supervision and no enforcement and the authorities granted under law are not utilized," notes the deputy director of the authority. He claims that the environmental authority submitted proposals for dealing with the problem of toxic substances to a session of the Interior Ministry on environmental quality, proposals such as the establishment of a monitoring system for the disposal of toxic substances, the founding of a special fund for the treatment of toxic waste, the set-up of a system for locating and eliminating toxic substances, supervision to prevent spills of toxic substances

into the sewer systems. "It would be desirable to close the large loophole of smuggling toxic substances--those which are very dangerous and forbidden in Israel--from Judea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip, that reach farmers in Israel in large quantities."

Perry avers that many insecticides that are banned in Israel reach Israeli farmers. "Farmers travel to Judea, Samaria or the Gaza Strip and there purchase large quantities of DDT despite the explicit prohibition against the use of that substance in Israel. "In Judea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip it is also possible to acquire without restriction and without a permit other substances forbidden in Israel, and there is no supervision thereof," says Perry. According to him strengthening the monitoring of the environmental authority's toxin neutralization section, especially to cover supervisory activities south of Beersheba, "would contribute to plugging the loopholes and preventing the smuggling of prohibited insecticides and assuring the correct use of those substances."

The director of the branch for the protection of vegetation in the agriculture department, agronomist Shmu'el 'Elhanan has the following reaction: "This is an impossible task. You cannot police every farmer. If we discover, through our examinations, traces of toxic substances above the concentration permitted by the standard or that prohibited substances were used, we bring the farmers to justice." He claims that in the past the environmental authority had supervisory power from the branch for the protection of vegetation over everything having to do with the use of toxic substances, "but they did not do their job properly, so we broke off contact with them."

On the subject of smuggling forbidden insecticides from Judea, Samaria and Gaza, the chief of the branch claims: "The issue is not as serious as Dan Perry describes it. We do not know about any large-scale smuggling of insecticides. The borders are open, and in this instance, too, it is impossible to maintain continuous uninterrupted supervision."

[15 Jan 85 p 13]

[Text] The toxic waste disposal site at Ramat-Hovev, 12 km south of Beersheba, has a permit to operate only until 15 May, unless budgets are approved for the establishment of a system to neutralize the industrial toxins stored there. Last week the decision was made to approve the budget--only partially--for the establishment of the neutralization plant.

The general directors of the ministries of health, interior, and industry and commerce, in collaboration with the treasury deputy in charge of budgets, authorized an initial budget for the establishment of a neutralization plant following the document prepared by the "Bateman" corporation. Treasury will provide the initial financing while in the future the facility will be financed by a fee to be imposed on the plants. What is involved here is an overall investment of about \$6 million.

The "Industrial Structures" firm, a daughter corporation of the Ministry of Industry and Commerce, will examine the various suggestions in order to submit the project for implementation in the near future, according to the decision. The "Industrial Structures" firm has already prepared the site near the industrial area in Ramat-Hovev, fenced in the area and determined the storage areas while taking strict safety measures to prevent ecological disasters such as occurred on the site 2 years ago when it was closed by court order.

The director of the site Dov Eden says: "It is now possible to collect 24,000 cubic tons of acids per year in open pools that do not permit percolation or leakage of the toxins into the ground, and to store 40,000 cubic meters of toxic materials in packages. Altogether it is possible to store about 23,000 tons of toxic materials, which is the quantity produced in all the civilian industrial plants in Israel in one year. Our major problem is the establishment of a neutralization system. This site has no future apart from its operation as a chemical plant for the neutralization of toxins," says Eden, 35, a chemical engineer who started on the job about a year ago.

The industrial waste that reaches the site is accompanied by transit certificates with the details of the type and quantity of material. "Without the transit certificates, we send the truck back to the plant it came from. We do not allow the entry of just any kind of toxin, without a transit certificate," says Eden.

The toxins on the site are stored on surfaces removed from each other. The most dangerous toxins, those especially sensitive to sun and rain, are stored in a special structure provided with fire extinguishers as well as chemical neutralization agents in the event of a gas leak. Only three people are now employed in the operation of Ramat-Hovev site, which costs \$200,000 per year.

Dov Eden explains: "There is no law requiring the transfer of toxic waste to Ramat-Hovev. The municipal business permit law can establish any condition whatsoever for the operation of the business within the sphere of local authority, but there is no paragraph in the law obligating the plant to concern itself with the controlled disposal of the toxic waste to the national site chosen for that purpose."

Another problem is the price that plants will have to pay for the disposal of toxic waste and its storage at Ramat-Hovev. "If the treatment of these materials--whether disposal, storage or neutralization--turns out to be expensive, the incentive will increase to conceal the toxic waste. Thus the process of uncontrolled storage of toxins in plant yards will continue or, in the worst case, they will get rid of the toxic waste, including cyanides and heavy metals, in open areas and in the wadis." Eden explains that many plants are interested in transferring the toxins produced in an organized fashion to Ramat-Hovev, "and they are aware of the dangers that could occur even within



the area of their plants, but if the cost of transport and treatment becomes very expensive, it is doubtful if they are prepared financially to dispose of toxins over a distance of hundreds of kilometers."

Ramat-Hovev was chosen as the toxic waste disposal site after prolonged checks of the soil, water, climate and environmental quality.

According to a survey conducted by the "Industrial Structures" company, of the 23,000 tons of toxic waste produced each year in industrial plants throughout Israel, about 11,000 tons are produced in the chemical plants in Ramat-Hovev, just 2 kms from the site. "These plants take upon themselves the storage and disposal of toxic wastes. At the moment there is no connection between us. Perhaps in the future, when our on-site toxin neutralization system goes into operation, the industrial plants in Ramat-Hovev will transfer their toxic wastes to our area," says Eden.

Even though the administration of the site at Ramat-Hoven determines in what kind of packaging to store the various toxins, whether for disposal or for one-site storage, there is, according to Eden, the danger of containers falling apart and the toxins leaking into open areas if the containers are to be stored for a prolonged period without proper treatment and without the opportunity for neutralization.

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ISRAEL

# ANALYSIS OF TERRITORIES' MILITARY COURTS

Tel Aviv KOTERET RASHIT in Hebrew 3 Apr 85 pp 16-18, 47

[Article by Arie Dayan: "A Fixed Game"]

[Text] A rare court event occurred last week at the Ramallah military court: the judge, Maj David Perlman, released one accused on bail. The fortunate man was Nidal Ayyub Jabir, a 17-year-old youth from the Duhaysha refugee camp. Jabir had been detained until the end of the court proceedings against him, after being accused of manufacturing and setting incendiary bombs. The indictment paper stated that he had tossed the incendiary bomb "with intent to kill." Normally, military courts sentence people accused of such crimes to many years of imprisonment, even to life. In Ramallah they had never heard of anyone released on bail.

Uri Standel is the lawyer that obtained Jabir's release. His claim in court was that the prosecution witnesses against the accused were at the same time being tried by the military court of Nablus, and as long as their trial is in progress they cannot appear as witnesses in Jabir's trial. In view of the fact that the trial in Nablus may go on for months, Jabir was being subjected to a great injustice. Standel came equipped with a precedent from the High Court of Justice: two officers of the military government, accused of collaborating with members of the Jewish underground, had been released on bail on the same grounds.

The decision of the major-judge to release the accused stunned the small and embittered community of defense lawyers in the territories. Such and similar defense lines had been used in the past and had been rejected. For example, 2 months ago, Attorney Jawad Bulus appealed to the Nablus military court to release on bail 'Abdallah Bashir, from the village 'Ayn Safit. Bashir has been waiting over 1 year for his trial to be resumed. Bulus claimed that according to Israeli law, a person must be released from jail if 1 year has passed since the indictment and the trial is still not ended. He cited a paragraph from the Supreme Court, according to which this decision is also valid for persons accused of major crimes. The court protocol recorded the following sarcastic answer from the military prosecutor: "I am happy

that Attorney Bulus has decided to apply Israeli law to Judaea and Samaria; however, until Israeli law has been established in this area, he will refrain from authoritatively citing the penal code as it is applied in Israel." The judge, Lt Col Moshe Rosenberg, rejected the attorney's plea.

The decisions of military courts in the territories are final, without appeal. Take, for example, the obvious contradiction existing between the decision of the Ramallah judge regarding the accused Jabir, and the decision of the Nablus judge regarding the accused Bashir. It is possible that the roots of the contradiction are in the characters of the two judges, or in the mood with which they woke up that morning, or in the status and rhetorical talents of the two defense lawyers. However, it is possible that the key to Jabir's good fortune is to be found elsewhere. According to the indictment, Jabir had not hurled his incendiary bomb at Israelis. An internal war has been waged in Duhaysha between Arabs and Arabs. Jabir's family supports the Muslim Brothers. Jabir was accused of throwing his incendiary bomb at his enemies, PLO people.

#### Political Attorneys

In the first years of the existence of the military courts system in the West Bank, some of the well-known lawyers of Israel, like Shlomo Tusia-Cohen and Ram Kaspi, used to appear there. In the past decade such lawyers have disappeared almost completely from the defense bench. This legal arena has been almost completely passed on to a group of lawyers who view their court activities in the West Bank as a political and party mission. Some 70 percent of the cases that come to court there go through the offices of Felicia Lang and Jawad Bulus, both of whom are active members of HADASH. Most of the other cases go to Israeli Arabs who have opened offices in East Jerusalem. The most prominent among them are Muhammad Na'ama and Abad al-Asli. Leah Zemel, one of the activists of former MAZPEN movement, has recently also moved her office to a new office building in East Jerusalem, near the American Colony Hotel. The Arab lawyers from the territories only get the leftovers. The continual confrontation between the military system, to which the courts belong, and the political lawyers is probably to blame for the erosion of basic court norms in the military courts. There are attorneys who have given up their right to request preliminary hearings to determine the acceptability of confessions. They claim that in 99 percent of the cases the court accepts the evidence of the investigators. The philosophies of those lawyers make them opt for political arguments; the judge react with anger and tend to hasten to pass sentence.

Uri Standel appears only rarely in military courts. In principle, he refuses to represent people accused of terrorist acts. He agreed to represent the young man from Duhayshah because the accusation had been terrorism against the PLO, not against Israel. He says he was impressed

by the fact that a matter-of-fact trial could be conducted in a military court. In his view, the lawyers who appear there often fail because they use political arguments. "By representing themselves and their clients as heroes they deprive themselves to the chance to conduct a regular trial."

#### Children of the Occupation

The military court in Ramallah meets in two small rooms, at one end of the building of the military government. A soldier checks identifications at the entrance door. Relatives and friends of the accused are allowed to enter without unnecessary delay.

The doors of the two courtrooms open onto a narrow and dark corridor, on the other side of which is the detention room. The walls are covered with Arabic inscriptions; almost every detainee writes his name and the date on the wall. There are also protests against the occupation, as well as two large inscriptions in Hebrew: "Death to the Terrorists," and "Kahane Is Right."

There are no benches, chairs, or cots in the detention room. The detainees wait for hours on their feet or sitting on the floor. Their relatives, too, wait standing. There are no benches in the corridor or in the yard set aside from their use. In the yard, the only protection against rain or sun is the car port built for the military cars of the judges and prosecutors.

The atmosphere at the deliberations is heavy and depressing. On backless wooden benches relatives sit crowded together, usually in silence and with grim faces. There are no outbursts, not of protest and not of pain; at the end of the trial the women are allowed to talk for a few minutes with their relation. After that, the relatives are requested to leave and the detainee stays in the detention room until the end of the day of court deliberations, when he is returned, together with the other accused on trial, to prison. Everyone--policemen, soldiers, prisoners, and relatives--behaves with restraint. They have all learned their parts by heart.

The accused are young. Many of them were born after the Six-Day war. Children of the occupation; they have not known any other government. The typical charge is disturbance of public peace; this general definition includes stone throwing, participation in riots, and building road blocks out of stones. Sometimes, 14 and 15 year olds are brought to trial on those charges. Since the policy was made stricter 2 years ago, the courts have been sentencing 15-16 year old youngsters to 1 and 1/2-2 months active imprisonment; 17-18 year olds may be sent up for half a year on the same charges; adults are given longer jail sentences.

There is no authority differentiation in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The executive authority--the military government and the civilian management--is also in charge of legislation and justice. The military

courts of law are run as military units in every respect. The men serving in them--judges, prosecutors, and court clerks--are subordinated, from an operation and disciplinary viewpoint, to the district military commander. The head of the military courts in the territories is Lt Col Avi Haber, president of the military courts of law in Judaea and Samaria. He is subordinated to the district commander, in keeping with military ranking order. His independence and autonomy are ensured by the order that subordinates him professionally only to the chief military prosecutor. Thus, he does not have to listen to the governor in matters of law. In point of fact, his status resembles that of the chief military prosecutor at the general headquarters. There is no resemblance between the degree of independence of the president of the military courts and that of the president of High Court of Justice.

The military courts are usually ruled by one judge, or three in the case of major crimes. The court president must be a jurist; the other two judges can be army officers without any legal background. Sentences exceeding 5 years imprisonment may not be passed by only one judge.

More than half of the cases in the territories are tried by judges on reserve duty. Their legal expertise is not even; they do not all deal with penal cases in their civilian work. Among them there are governmental legal advisers, insurance lawyers, bank directors with a legal background, and lawyers who the rest of the year deal with property and commercial contracts. Many of them consider serving as a judge on their reserve duty as a source of honor, prestige, and especially power. It is to be assumed that none of them would like to be transferred to another unit. A judge would have to be brave to pass a sentence opposed to the government policy. The judges are quite familiar with the sentencing policy welcomed by the heads of the military system. The president of the military courts maintains close contacts with the permanent judges and keeps them up-to-date. Instructing the judges is not always necessary. The judges and the prosecutors live within the military system; they meet the heads of the military government every day in the mess and in other places. They are thoroughly familiar with the policy, and sometimes even contribute to setting it.

Every few months the reserve judges are invited to days of study organized by the military prosecutor's office. They hear lectures on legal matters and on the political and military situation in the territories. A coordinator of actions in the territories also attends such meetings, as do military governors and commanding officers of the troops stationed there. A reserve judge who hears from the authorities that everything possible must be done to stop the stone-throwing will not be slow in taking the hint.

One reserve military judge, who asked to remain anonymous, sharply criticized the dependence inherent in the system. "Something is basically wrong with the system of military courts," he said. "The

system is neither independent, nor autonomous. It cannot be independent when the ruling of the judge begins and ends according to a military decision of any rank. A judge needs the knowledge that he cannot be fired."

### Military Music

Albert Einstein claimed the following saying about military justice (i.e., about trial): "Military justice does to justice what military music does to music." This saying applies to the work of military courts everywhere, but it is particularly true of the military courts in the territories. The first difference between the principles of civilian justice and those of the military is revealed as soon as a suspect is detained. In Israel, the police is obligated to bring a suspect before a judge within 48 hours; in the West Bank, he may be held 18 days without a court order. The prosecution may not request extended detention beyond 30 days without a special authorization from the government legal adviser; in the West Bank, a judge can detain a man for 60 days without any additional authorization. Another difference is that Israeli courts may extend the detention of a suspect until the end of the proceedings against him only in the case of a major crime; in the West Bank, almost every detention is automatically extended until the end of the court procedure. In many cases a man completes most of his prison sentence even before the end of the trial.

The overwhelming majority of people brought to trial in the West Bank are accused on the basis of their confessions during the investigation. In a civilian court, the defense would hasten to protest the acceptability of the confessions and a preliminary hearing would be opened. In the West Bank such objection stands almost no chance. Attorney Bulus says that in the 2 years since he received his degree and began practicing in the West Bank he conducted tens of hearings; he won only one.

Indicted people who do not admit their guilt are charged on the basis of the testimonies of other prisoners. Musa al-Rimawi, for example, did not admit to the accusation leveled against him. Al-Rimawi, a young man from Ramallah who is studying engineering at the Karl Marx University in Sofia, Bulgaria, was accused of having mobilized Palestinian students in Bulgaria at the beginning of the Lebanon war, to help the Democratic Front, Nayyif Hawathimah's organization. The prosecution claimed that in June 1982 he flew, at the head of a group of about 10 students, from Sofia to Damascus, and from there went out to the training camp of the organization. On the same plane to Damascus there was also a group of about 150 PLO volunteers. One of them, who is currently in jail in Israel, testified to his investigators that al-Rimawi was on the plane. On the other hand, al-Rimawi claims that in June 1982 he was on his honeymoon in a Bulgarian resort town. In his court testimony in Ramallah, the PLO man retracted his statement to the investigators. The judge opted for his initial testimony and sentenced al-Rimawi to 3 years in prison. The PLO man had been previously sentenced to 1 year imprisonment.

The sentence passed on al-Rimawi is tougher than sentences handed down in the past for similar offences. Since there is no appealing a sentence in the territories, he will sit out his entire sentence. Moshe Drori, a jurist who served as deputy legal adviser with the Judeaea and Samaria command, says that the absence of appeal is the only serious flaw of the court system in the territories. Had there been a court of appeals, I would give the system a grade of 9 or 10, says Drori.

Some people in the leadership of the military prosecutor's office support the idea of a court of appeals in the territories. There have recently been discussions along this line at the Ministry of Defense; on one occasion at least the topic was raised at the prime minister's office. More than 10 years ago, when Peres was defense minister, he deliberated such a proposal, which was, however, rejected for fear that the establishment of a court of appeals would be interpreted in the world as one step toward the annexation of the territories. Today it is precisely the supporters of annexation who oppose the idea. The settlers, who are drilled in this subject by the military governor and the coordinator of actions in the territories, view court appeals as a concession to the Arab population and as an encouragement to the elements most hostile to the Israeli occupation. They prefer the land of the territories and the Jews who moved there to be annexed, while the Arabs should continue to live under military occupation.

[Inset]

#### The Head of the International Branch

Lt Col Joel Singer, 34, is the head of the international law branch of the higher military prosecutor's office. By virtue of his function, he provides legal advice to the defense system on everything that has to do with relations with international bodies: the Red Cross, the UN forces, and other international organizations. Since the territories are, from a legal viewpoint, foreign territory, what happens there also belongs to his domain. He believes that the military courts in the territories are a visiting card for the military prosecutor. "It is not only for that reason," he said, "that we think it is important for it to function appropriately; wherever there are IDF troops, legality must reign."

--The army may terminate the office of a military judge at any time; what, in your opinion, ensures the independence of the system?

"We are in uniform. We have ranks and we belong, so to speak, to the military. However, the higher military prosecutor's office has a special status in the army. The chief military prosecutor is the only man in a high position to be appointed by the defense minister, and not by the chief of staff. The Knesset believes that this ensures his independent thinking. Military judges are appointed by the chief military prosecutor, and not by the chief of staff, the district commander, or any other

military authority. The chief military prosecutor is assisted by an appointments commission, which provides recommendations. This commission is made up of the deputy chief prosecutor, myself, the presidents of the military courts of Judaea, Samaria, and Gaza, and a representative of the Israeli lawyers' association. This commission examines each candidate according to the same criteria that apply to civilian courts. As opposed to the commission that appoints civilian judges, the members of our commission are concerned only with legal factors, and are not swayed by religious or secular, sephardi or ashkenazi, MAPAI or HERUT considerations. The purpose is to select the best and most talented among the reserve jurists at our disposal. We are aware of the fact that a judge is exposed, every day and every hour, not only to the scrutiny of the accused and their families, but also of the press, the Red Cross, the UN bodies, and Amnesty."

--And that ensures the independence of the system?

"As a jurist, I was taught not to be certain of anything. We make every possible effort to ensure that our judges are the best suited, from both the viewpoints of their knowledge of the penal code and from a personal viewpoint, concerning their integrity and honesty."

--Some of the reserve judges deal in their civilian life with property and contract law, and their penal expertise is limited.

"No system is free of drawbacks. The question is whether it features the apparatus to remedy them. I have myself repeatedly heard Arabs in Judaea and Samaria curse the government, then add, in the same breath, that you can only rely on the military courts. One of the judges of the High Court of Justice, Menahem Alon, served with us on his reserve duty; the district courts also have judges that served with us. It is true that a civilian judge knows that no one can remove him from office. We have a problem in this respect, but no military commanding officer is allowed to transfer a judge. Only we can do so."

--The judge and the prosecutor belong to the same military unit, eat at the same mess, and perhaps even share quarters or travel in the same car. Can this proximity have no influence on them?

"One of the things required from every jurist is the ability to divorce himself from himself. I know that someone who is not a jurist and is not familiar with this phenomenon will have trouble understanding it. For example, a private attorney today represents a company in a dispute with another, then tomorrow he represents the second company in a dispute with a third; he will plead both cases with the same intensity and conviction. How does he do it? It is one of the attitudes required of a jurist."

--When you convene the judges, the coordinator of actions in the territories comes and explains to them the sentencing policy desirable to the government. Is that not influencing?



"The lectures that the judges hear on the study days carry absolutely no hint as to what the government expects from them. The reserve judges serve with us approximately 1 month a year; the other 11 months they are totally separated from what we do. At the meetings we update them, apprise them of the basic sentences passed since the last meeting, of the fines currently practiced and so forth. They also hear lectures on the situation in the area. Our judges are professionals. That does not influence their judgment."

--The overwhelming majority of the convicted are convicted on the basis of their confessions at the investigation. There are sometimes charges of violence at the investigations.

"In this connection, you must differentiate between people accused of serious hostile terrorist activities and those accused of disturbing the peace, i.e. throwing stones, rioting, etc. In the first case, almost all the accused are convicted, almost 100 percent of them on the basis of their admissions. There is a simple explanation for this. In most of the cases, they are not apprehended red-handed; on the other hand, not one of them will dare testify against his friends, as in so doing he would certainly sentence himself to death. In such cases we simply have no alternative but to convict them on their own confessions. In cases of disturbance of order, we tried in the past to convict people on the basis of the testimony of the soldiers who caught them. What happened? Reservists, carrying 30 kg of equipment on their backs, were chasing down narrow streets after 16-year-olds, and when they caught them they were already exhausted. Three months later, at the trial, they had trouble identifying the youths. The attorneys used every trick to confuse them, and the result was a large number of acquittals. What did we do? We built the Farah prison and trained a team of investigators to obtain confessions from suspects."

--It is those investigators who are accused of maltreating the prisoners.

"Within the framework of their training, they also heard lectures from jurists. I can assure you that any complaint that reaches us, through the Red Cross, relatives, lawyers, or the press, is not thoroughly examined by the military police. The government authorities already hate us. Nevertheless, I do not doubt that the complaints against Farah are partly the result of a well organized propaganda campaign."

--Are you in favor of authorizing appeals of the decisions of military courts?

"A request has been filed on this subject with the military high court of justice which obligated the state to explain why appeals should not be permitted. The state is now in the process of preparing a reply, and thus I cannot answer your question. Sub judice."

# JUSTICE TABLE

These figures, culled from sentences passed by military courts in the past 3 years, show that chances of being acquitted are not high, while the sentences are heavy. Acquittals considerably increased--almost doubled--in 1984.

	brought to trial	convic- ted	5 or more years	1-5 years	up to 1 year	sus- pended	fines	acquitted
1982	2,191	2,083	32	48	342	217	1,444	108
1983	3,501	3,339	83	180	672	598	1,806	162
1984	5,697	5,226	83	167	989	425	2,562	471

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CSO: 4423/33

23 May 1985

## ISRAEL

## BRIEFS

EGYPTIAN SHIPPING LINE OPENS--The first Egyptian shipping line to Israel has been opened by a new company, the Egyptian Reefers and General Cargo Shipping Co. of Alexandria. The firm's first ship arrived here yesterday. It is represented in Israel by the Israel-Scandinavian Maritime Agencies Ltd. [Summary] [Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 4 Apr 85 TA]

UNEMPLOYMENT DROPS IN MARCH--Some 41,700 people applied for jobs at employment offices in March, approximately 1,000 fewer than in February. The number of persons who were unemployed for 6 days or more decreased slightly and numbered 19,600. The number of job vacancies increased by some 20 percent and some 3,300 jobs remained vacant. The Employment Service believes the drop was caused by a seasonal rise in demand for workers due to the upcoming Passover holiday. [Summary] [Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1100 GMT 4 Apr 85 TA]

ROMANIA TRAVEL TAX EXEMPTION--Israelis travelling to Romania will henceforth be exempted for paying the 20-percent tax on flight tickets. This was decided today by the Knesset Finance Committee at the government's request. [Excerpt] [Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1100 GMT 4 Apr 85 TA]

REGIONAL ROAD--The Construction and Housing Ministry has begun paving a regional road in the southern Hebron Hills area. The 13.5-km road will connect the Yattir forest with the settlements of Mezadot Yehuda, Susiyya, Ma'on, and Karmel. The road will also provide for a convenient and orderly access to the agricultural lands of these settlements, located in the 'Arad Valley. The paving of the road will be completed within about 4 months. Deputy Prime Minister and Construction and Housing Minister David Levi will tour the new settlement area the day after tomorrow. [Text] [Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 15 Apr 85 p 3]

CSO: 4400/126

PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

DISSIDENT FATAH LEADER DISCUSSES HUSAYN-'ARAFAT AGREEMENT

Damascus TISHRIN in Arabic 23 Mar 85 p 3

/Interview with Col Abud Khalid al-'Amlah, official spokesman for the Joint Command of Palestine National Liberation Movement--Fatah--by 'Ali al-Saywan: "Col Abu Khalid al-'Amlah: 'Amman Agreement Is Inevitable Outcome of Preludes of Devious Course; There Is No Alternative to Speedy Formation of Palestine National Salvation Front; Syria Is Mainstay of National Program Opposed to Liquidation Scheme; Reactionaries Are Not Custodians of Palestinian Identity in Order That They May Be Able To Obliterate it"; date and place not specified

/Text There is nothing more difficult for a journalist than to interview someone he likes. Here, the element of surprise--an element crystallized in the difference of viewpoints, even a minimal difference on terminology--vanishes.

This was our problem in the interview with Col Abu Khalid al-'Amlah, the official spokesman of the Joint Command of the Palestine National Liberation Movement--Fatah.

Fundamentally, Colonel al-'Amlah is a fighter and I have come to know him well in the combat arenas against the Zionist enemy and his agents.

Our love for al-'Amlah emanates from the fact that, while amidst his fighters whom he has raised in the school of armed struggle, he brings to mind the late President Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir's description of the "Palestinian fedayeen movement" as the "bright spot in this homeland's dark night" in the wake of the 1967 defeat. He also revives, even embodies, struggler Hafiz al-Asad's description of the Lebanese national resistance as "the screaming proof of the struggle alternative to the course of deviation and capitulation."

What does fighter Abu Khalid think? What are his views of the issues of the hour: the arrests in Jordan, the 11 February agreement and the extent of its danger and the possibilities of finding a way out of the current crisis in the Palestinian arena?

We carried these questions to Colonel al-'Amlah and had the following interview:

/Question The Jordanian regime has recently launched a campaign of arrests among the ranks of the national forces. What, in your opinion, is the connection

between this campaign and the level reached in the relations between 'Arafat and the king, as embodied in the 11 February agreement?

/Answer/ The parties directly or indirectly involved in this agreement have gotten involved as a result of their stifling crisis which emanates from the failure of these parties to perform their roles and, consequently, from their awareness of their inability to maintain their positions and preserve their interests. In the face of the dangers threatening them, these parties have acted with ferocity against the forces opposed to their movement. Within this context, the arrests are but one of the attempts by these parties to eliminate the obstacles in their way.

In Jordan, where the regime views the people and their national forces as the enemy, it is natural that the regime would arrest the national leaders to intimidate the masses and deprive them of their leadership.

With this action, the Jordanian regime is helping 'Arafat to continue to perform his role--a role which 'Arafat cannot perform in Jordan itself. The cooperation between the two sides at this level is obvious. The regime's instruments of suppression work in firm cooperation with 'Arafat's band and the Egyptian regime is performing a comparable role, since it is arresting the Palestinian strugglers and has handed some of them over to the Zionist enemy's authorities.

The parties involved in the agreement and seeking to crystallize this agreement with feverish efforts are now acting as a faction with its Palestinian, Arab and international dimensions. Therefore, the confrontation against this faction must be at the same level. Here emerges Syria's role in its capacity as the mainstay of confronting the program on whose basis these forces are moving and because Syria is the strategic dimension on which rely the national Palestinian and Lebanese forces opposed to the program and engaged in various forms of struggle against the parties to the program.

The arrests campaign can only be viewed within the context of the general movement of these parties toward submission to the objectives of the schemes of the imperialist and Zionist forces, especially the objectives of liquidating the Palestinian armed revolution, of taming the Lebanese national movement and of subjugating the will of Syria and all the national forces opposed to the program, wherever they may be in the Arab homeland, so that the imperialist and Zionist forces may completely control our Arab homeland.

These arrests are not the end of the line and preparations were made for them with previous steps which gained momentum recently and which will escalate even more in the coming phase. It must be noted here that these desperate attempts on the part of the lackey regime will not intimidate our Jordanian and Palestinian masses, which are aware of the immense dangers to their future and to the future of their nation if the plot to include Jordan in the Camp David accords and to liquidate the Palestinian issue succeeds. Our masses are determined to bury this plot and the fate of King Husayn and 'Arafat will not be better than that of /King/ 'Abdallah and al-Sadat.

## Amman Agreement Is Outcome of Course

/Question/ There have been preludes to the Amman agreement. How integrated are these preludes? Has this integration constituted a course and is there a connection between this course and the positions of those who call for isolating the 11 February agreement from its predecessors, especially the call for "abolishing" the agreement but not the course it has created?

/Answer/ The Husayn-'Arafat agreement is an inevitable outcome of the preludes of the devious course. The main features of this course can be summed up in the fact that its followers have abandoned the liberation program in favor of a settlement and liquidation program, thus dropping the option of armed struggle, which is the highest form of struggle to which all the other forms of struggle must yield. This is what has motivated the followers of this course, which has its mainstays in the Arab reality, to try to settle the main conflict between the Palestinian and Arab arenas on the one hand and the Zionist-imperialist enemy on the other hand through a nonrevolutionary solution and in a manner that does not serve the Palestinian and Arab masses' interests.

### Settlement Illusion

The preludes of this course have been observed since the early 1970's when the prospect of a political settlement for the national issue was raised for the first time in the history of the modern Palestinian revolution.

This is an illusion based on no objective foundation in the real situation and it is an illusion that reflects a faulty understanding of the nature of the enemy and of his settlement-oriented entity in Palestine. It also reflects the inability of those who embrace this illusion to persevere on the path of achieving the strategic objective of our national and pan-Arab struggle--an objective embodied in liberating Palestine and building a united and progressive Arab society.

The settlement illusions were entrenched in the wake of the October 1973 liberation war. From his position, which was tied to the imperialist program, al-Sadat approached this war as a crossing toward the political settlement.

Al-Sadat's logic reflected itself in the Palestinian arena in the wake of that war, thus urging some Palestinians to respond in 1974 to embracing the so-called "phased program" which was issued by the 12th Session of the PNC /Palestinian National Council/.

On the basis of this program, the devious leadership proceeded to arrange matters in the Palestinian arena according to the dictates of this response, bolstering its alliances with the reactionary Arab regimes and striking the revolution's alliances with the nationalist regimes and with the Arab and international liberation movements.

The devious leadership also strengthened the bureaucratic structure of the PLO agencies and institutions in the struggle arena and in the international arena. This leadership also intensified diplomatic actions at the expense of military

action, which took at the time the form of "parades" and information parades "armed propaganda" serve the political settlement program, as this leadership thought.

This course continued until it reached a decisive point at the first Fez summit. Those leading this course expressed their full readiness to recognize the Zionist enemy but the Palestinian and national Arab forces rejected and foiled this scheme at the time.

The 1983 Zionist invasion of Lebanon came to dictate by military force what they had failed to achieve at the first Fez summit, namely to coerce the Palestinian revolution to join in liquidating the national cause. Then came the second Fez summit which tried to exploit the consequences of the invasion to impose the political capitulation prepared for by the attempt to crush the military forces of the Palestinian revolution and of the Lebanese national forces and by the attempt to weaken Syria and to subjugate it to the objectives of the Zionist-imperialist program, which called for passing the second phase of Camp David accords.

#### Timing of Reagan Plan

This is why Reagan's plan was presented 1 day after the departure of the last batch of Palestinian fighters from Beirut, why King Husayn presented his confederation plan and why 'Arafat met with the Zionists. The convocation of the PNC's 16th Session also came within this framework. This session entrenched the policy of "mining" the arena and kept the door open for all the subsequent developments experienced by the arena in the direction of joining the liquidationist and capitulationist schemes--developments beginning with 'Arafat's attempt to end the Palestinian armed presence in the Lebanese arena, with 'Arafat's visit to Cairo, with the restoration of Egyptian-Jordanian relations and with the formation of the Husayn-Mubarak-'Arafat reactionary axis and with the convocation of the treasonous Amman Council and ending with the 11 February agreement and with Mubarak's initiative.

It is evident from all of the above that it is impossible to isolate this agreement from its preludes which, together, form a whole. The call by some people to drop the Husayn-'Arafat agreement without dropping the course and the symbols of the agreement is just an attempt to overlook the facts of the Palestinian situation. Moreover, confining the dangers of the agreement to the issue of abandoning the PLO's role of sole representation through a joint Palestinian-Jordanian delegation is another attempt to covering and camouflaging the essence of the liquidationist agreement which abandons the organization and the cause, not just the power of sole representation.

These calls disregard and turn a blind eye to the nature of the course which has produced this agreement and has, consequently, created the crisis of the Palestinian national action. The revolution cannot be brought out of its crisis without dropping this course and liquidating all its intellectual, political and behavioral mainstays, and this is something that cannot be achieved by pursuing the same course which has created the crisis.

We are entitled to ask those who do not consider the Amman agreement a deviation from the organization's /PLO's/ national program and national line: was the organization in the national line immediately before 'Arafat convened his "treasonous council" in Amman?

We tell these people: Enough wasting of national effort and enough misleading of our masses as to what is truly taking place in the arena. We must state responsibly that there is a leadership that has fallen and capitulated to the enemy and that, on the other hand, another leadership must rise to be entrusted with the organization, with its national charter, with our people's struggle history, with the blood of our martyrs and with the future of our struggling people and our children. Only thus can we protect the organization, preserve its national line and carry on with the revolution until victory.

Let Adherence to Slogan of "Revolution Until Victory" Be Entrenched

/Question/ Those advocating the Amman agreement have reiterated the same question repeated by advocates of the conclusion of the 17 May Lebanon-Israel accord, namely: what is the alternative? What, really, is the alternative to the course of Arab peace with "Israel" and what is your comment on the words "land in return for peace"?

/Answer/ As I have already pointed out in my previous answer, there is a social segment that has led the Palestinian national action and has capitulated to the enemy. This dictates that another national leadership be formed to carry on with the revolution. This is an objective law dictated by the continued presence of the settlement-oriented Zionist base on our land and by the fact that the basic conflict with the Zionist enemy continues to be unresolved.

Therefore, the fundamental concepts of the Palestinian national struggle-- concepts that entrench a sound understanding of the nature of the enemy and of the means to settle the struggle with this enemy in a revolutionary manner-- must be rehabilitated. On this basis, the option of armed struggle and of the long-drawn Arab popular liberation was as the sole and inevitable means for liberating the homeland must also be rehabilitated. We must also adhere firmly to our strategic slogan of "revolution until victory" and must re-educate our masses with the right concepts concerning the Arab-Zionist conflict, since the devious Palestinian and Arab course has sabotaged the masses' awareness of this issue.

#### Fateful Struggle

The conflict between us and the Zionist-imperialist enemy is a matter of an internecine conflict that cannot be resolved until one of the two sides to the conflict nullifies the other. This is the nature of all the settlement-oriented entities known to history, beginning with Algeria and South Africa and ending with North America, Australia and other parts of the world.

The conflict is between the settlers and the native inhabitants. In these settlement-oriented entities, the land is the center of the conflict. The settlers try to annihilate the native inhabitants in order to seize the land



or try to exploit and enslave the natives to serve their interests, depending on the development of the settlement plan.

Therefore, the theory of "land in return for peace" is a very dangerous theory founded on groundless illusions. Neither the Likud nor the Labor Party is prepared to abandon 60 percent, not even 1 percent, of the land. This theory is an embodiment of al-Sadat's principle on which the treasonous Camp David accords are founded. Moreover, not only do those Palestinians and Arabs who project this principle not possess the land, they also do not have the power with which to impose this peace. What is offered them is no more than the "U.S. peace," i.e., full capitulation to the enemy's will. In the U.S.-Zionist view, the utmost that this peace process can produce is a self-rule in which our people are enslaved in "bantustans" and exploited to serve the Zionist scheme in "Israel's biblical land."

#### Closed Path of Capitulation

There is another characteristic of the Zionist settlement scheme in Palestine--a characteristic emanating from the special nature of the basic conflict in the Palestinian and Arab arenas. The imperialist role of the Zionist entity is determined on the basis of this special nature. What we mean by this role is the Zionist entity's role in subjugating the Arab popular movement in the areas surrounding Palestine--the settlement base--and in performing its imperialist task within the framework of the general imperialist program. This is what dictates that we make a distinction between the settlement base, i.e., Palestine, and the areas of influence and domination surrounding the base, i.e., the Arab arenas. The Zionist entity is not prepared to bargain over a single inch of the base--Palestine--area. The bargaining can be conducted over the areas of domination and influence if there is a balance of power that forces the enemy to retreat. This is what is happening in Lebanon now on the basis of the national Lebanese-Syrian-Palestinian alliance.

As for Palestine, the enemy will not retreat unless he is crushed and unless the Zionist settlement base in Palestine is liquidated.

The theory of "land in return for peace" is an al-Sadat theory on whose basis the Egyptian link of Camp David was founded. This theory is now being reproduced so that it may pass the Jordanian-Palestinian link, i.e., to spread the Camp David accords over another part of our Arab homeland and to contain the pan-Arab revival embodied in the abrogation of the 17 May accord in the Lebanese arena.

Therefore, the movement of our enemies in its entirety determines our method of confrontation. Just as we foiled the 17 May accord with our pan-Arab confrontation in the Lebanese arena, we will, with the same method, foil the treasonous Husayn-'Arafat agreement because with his conduct, 'Arafat has moved to the position of the antirevolutionary forces and aligned himself with the front of the enemies of the people's, homeland's and nation's interest. When 'Arafat takes a hostile position and strikes at the masses' interest, their history and their present and future, he puts himself in the position of these enemies and must be confronted the way the enemies are confronted.

## National Salvation Front

/Question/ Can you give us a brief idea of the steps which you think constitute the desired response to the steps of the dissident Palestinian right and which will, consequently, restore the status and struggle role of the PLO?

/Answer/ In the wake of the conclusion of the treasonous 'Arafat-Husayn agreement last February--an agreement which crowned a devious course--the Palestinian national arena became more prepared to interact seriously in order to confront the national action crisis created by the devious course and its leaders and to exert efforts to solve this crisis on the basis of utilizing the experience of the past 20 years of the modern revolution in all the political, organizational, military, popular and behavioral spheres so as to crystallize the national alternative actually qualified to lead the PLO out of its crisis and to insure that this crisis is not recreated.

Within the context of the national response, serious dialogues are being currently held to announce the National Salvation Front which will have a leadership that will shoulder the responsibility of mobilizing the national effort to drop the treasonous course and its symbols and to develop and organize the PLO in a manner that insures its ability to perform its national duties within the framework of the pan-Arab action that seeks to inflict defeat on our nation's enemies and to achieve our objectives of liberation, progress and unity.

### Basic Steps

We in the Fatah Movement believe that it is necessary to underline some issues pertaining to this front:

First, announcement of the front should not be made until its political and organizational program is distributed to all the factions so that they may express their opinion on it. In case of approval, the faction concerned should attend the front meetings. After the lapse of the set period, the front should be announced in the name of the factions approving its program. This means that the front is open to all parties and factions engaged in the armed struggle and that there can be no "veto" against any faction that approves of the front.

Second, agreement should be reached on the front leadership and its structures before the announcement is made. The front leadership should be the legitimate Palestinian leadership.

Third, the leadership should draw up the various action plans and the movement plan at all the Palestinian, Arab and international levels to help rehabilitate the revolution and to prepare the way for the organization to regain as soon as possible its revolutionary national position of hostility to imperialism, Zionism and reaction.

The tasks projected by the treasonous and liquidationist agreement dictate that we go beyond the limits of verbal screaming, condemnation, denunciation and "opposition" and engage indirect field actions whose main task is to declare the National Salvation Front and to name its leadership so that it may shoulder

its responsibilities. We must also exert efforts to develop the Jordanian National Front and to enhance its efficacy by encouraging all the national and progressive forces to join it on the path of creating a national democratic Jordan that protects and represents an extension of the Jordanian and Palestinian peoples' struggle.

All this must be done by strengthening the bonds of the trilateral Palestinian-Syrian-Lebanese alliance as a nucleus of a pan-Arab front confronting the imperialist-Zionist-reactionary scheme. It must also alliance with the socialist bloc countries and with the world's liberation and progressive forces, led by the friendly Soviet Union.

#### Elimination of Palestine, Not Just Alternative Leadership

/Question/ The French Government's reception of al-Hajj Rashad al-Shawwa coincided with the circulation of reports of clashes in the territories occupied since 1948, as well as clashes in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, between the supporters and opponents of the Amman agreement. Are there endeavors to create a Palestinian alternative to the PLO--an alternative that supports the course of peace with the enemy?

/Answer/ To start, we must underline the general rule which governs the movement of both the Jordanian entity and the Zionist entity vis-a-vis the Palestinian people's cause and, consequently, vis-a-vis the PLO as a political organization through which the Palestinian national action is managed and as a political framework representing the Palestinian people and reflecting their aspirations. The Zionist entity seeks to eliminate the Palestinian people in order to create a new reality in the occupied homeland--a reality forming a security base for the Zionist machine of aggression. This is why this entity is not at all concerned with the presence of the PLO. When the PLO grows strong politically or militarily, the Zionist entity tries to create alternatives to it and when it weakens, the Zionist entity strikes these alternatives, as it is now doing with the village leagues.

Today and with the emergence of 'Arafat as a negotiator with this entity, the enemy is trying to create alternatives to 'Arafat in order to blackmail him. The Jordanian entity, created to absorb the consequences emanating from the establishment of the new reality in Palestine and from the Zionist settlement, is working to contain the Palestinian people, their institutions and the PLO. When the organization grows strong, the Jordanian entity backs down on its endeavor and when it weakens, the regime tries to contain it, as it is doing at present.

Rashad al-Shawwa is not in opposition to 'Arafat's current role in the scheme 'Arafat is trying to crystallize. Al-Shawwa's latest activity is no more than a step to encourage speeding up the adoption of the required measures to begin implementation of the scheme and also a step intended to imply that there are alternatives prepared to enter into negotiations with the enemy and that if 'Arafat and the organization cannot take part in the negotiations, the alternatives can come from among personalities well known for their dealings internally, such as the mayors known for their relations with Jordan and Egypt, or from among a group of the American University professors who are well known for their relations with Washington.

It is also well known that a project calling for establishing self-rule in Gaza, if it is impossible to establish it in all the territories occupied in 1967, so that Gaza may act as an experimental field has been propagated. Al Shawwa's activity flows in the direction of the Egyptian tendency and of reviving the French role within the framework of a so-called European role in the peace process.

Our people's struggle at home and abroad is a whole, with each part affecting the other both positively and negatively. Abroad, a small segment has fallen and capitulated. But the revolution is still alive, the struggle continues and the Palestinian national action continues to be an objective necessity, even though it has faltered temporarily because of 'Arafat's course and conduct. The same applies to the struggle of our people at home. This struggle will escalate and intensify and will be greatly influenced by what we do here in the Palestinian arena. At home, there is a handful of people with interests tied to lackey regimes and these people are ready to capitulate and they work actively to exploit the present opportunity. But our people's masses at home have not succumbed, as made evident by their escalating daily resistance to the occupation. All the suspect attempts to create false frameworks prepared to join the projected liquidation schemes will fail. I have already pointed out that those seeking to join these schemes do not have the ability to implement them. They do not possess the war option in order to offer the peace option and they do not own the land in order to deliver it in return for peace. They are not custodians of the Palestinian entity in order that they may be able to eliminate it.

8494

CSO: 4404/296

PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

DFLP ORGAN RAPS JORDANIAN ATTEMPTS TO MANIPULATE PALESTINIANS

Nicosia AL-HURRIYAH in Arabic 7 Apr 85 pp 14, 15

[Article: "Has the Palestinian Community Become 'Jordanian' Following the Amman Agreement?"]

[Text] In spite of all the incense burnt by the Palestinian right to deodorize the Amman agreement, and in spite of the repeated efforts by this right to give the Husayn-'Arafat agreement meanings and interpretations that differ according to the requirements of each time and place, in spite of all that it seems that the Jordanian regime is determined to end all doubts. Amman was not content with just announcing the content of the agreement through a press conference held by the Jordanian minister of information, during which he announced, without any obfuscation, the points of the agreement based on the Jordanian understanding of this agreement, but it also began practical preparations to take over the right to represent the Palestinian people and to strip the Palestine Liberation Organization of its right to be the sole legitimate representative of this people.

What Jordan plans in this respect includes not only putting in order the affairs of the Palestinian house within the occupied territories, where Jordanian interference and pressures on national establishments are intense, but it goes beyond that to ordering the affairs of the scattered Palestinian houses in the places of refuge and dispersion.

AL-HURRIYAH has learned from reliable sources that the Jordanian regime issued orders to all its embassies abroad to begin to make broad contacts with the Palestinian communities wherever they existed, especially those that had Jordanian passports, and it seems that Kuwait was one of the first arenas of this Jordanian activity. At the beginning of last March, Jordanian representatives held a meeting with groups of influential Palestinians, including a group of Palestinian writers, journalists, and lawyers in Kuwait, that under the guise of making preparations for holding the conference of Jordanian expatriates next August in Amman sponsored by King Husayn.

Great Temptations and Greater Threats

Whoever scrutinizes the outcome of this meeting will discover without effort the truth behind the intentions of the Jordanian regime. This meeting

formed a committee of Palestinian journalists in Kuwait which at the conclusion of its meetings issued suggestions and proposals containing many points that clarify the nature of the new Jordanian activity.

In the draft that these meetings came out with as it reached AL-HURRIYAH magazine, we read the following: "The committee has completed the preparation of a working paper that will be presented to the conference of Jordanian expatriates that will be held in Amman next August under the sponsorship of the Jordanian monarch. The aforementioned committee was chosen to represent the Jordanian journalists in Kuwait at a meeting held at the Jordanian embassy where they listened to a lengthy explanation by Mr 'Awd al-Tarawinah about the importance of this conference and the topics that will be brought up during it, within the framework of Jordan's concern for its subjects abroad."

Whoever reads these lines will only see their innocent exterior, in spite of the words "its subjects abroad" which were mentioned ambiguously within a general framework. If we do not look into the nature and even the names of the assembled journalists - that is something we will discuss later - we will see that what came out of the meeting does not even now depart from the ordinary, but when we continue to read the report that was leaked, we will find that its points are connected to one another, and that they all pave the way for the essence of what the Jordanian embassy in Kuwait wants in organizing a meeting thus.

After this introduction, we will find that the working paper proposed by this committee contains many countless temptations and facilitations for members of the community that go along with the efforts by the embassy. They can be summarized through many of the proposals brought up in the working paper for the intended conference as, "Permitting media people working in Kuwait to be accepted as members in the Jordanian journalists' trade union, participating in investment companies, especially those having to do with real estate, in order to provide appropriate housing for them; making exceptions for the children of journalists and media people to enter Jordanian universities; lowering customs duties on media people and waiving them upon their final return; ending the interrogations that media people are subject to; setting up a special committee in the Jordanian drafting and enlistment office to solve the problems of expatriates; applying the health and social security system to journalists; calling upon Jordanian banks to permit loans to be granted to the media people; and reviewing the files of expatriate individuals who were included in the royal amnesty."

All these proposals might not have seemed strange if they had been brought up by a gathering that had no connection to the Jordanian embassy; but for this tempting package to be offered suddenly by the embassy, this is something the community has not heard of in its dealings with the regime's systems since Jordan recognized the resolutions of the Arab summit conference in Rabat which sanctioned the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. Since that time, all natural rights relating to most bearers of Jordanian passports, including original Jordanian citizens, have disappeared. So why have the "gates of heaven" opened now?

## "Jordanianization" of the Palestinians, Whether They Like It or Not

After that, the committee's working paper congratulated "the nation of Kuwait for its prominent role in embracing the journalists, media people, and the Jordanian community which numbers over 350,000 people."!! Yes, 350,000 people, or the total number of Jordanians and Palestinians (who are the vast majority, of course)! We return now to the question of the committee's formation, and we will leave detailing that to the same report, which says. "The committee representing Jordanian journalists in Kuwait has concluded." Notice the phrase "Jordanian journalists"; (are they really that?). Let us continue reading, "And composed of the colleagues 'Abdallah al-Qaq, Salim Isma'il, Musa al-Dajani, Ghazi 'Ilm-al-Din, 'Abd-al-Karim Abu Khadra, Rubhi al-Asmar, Dr Ihsan al-'Amd, 'Amid al-Shanti, and Nabil Ghazawi."

Whoever examines both sentences will discover first of all that with the exception of Nabil Ghazawi, all these names belong to Palestinian journalists living in Kuwait; indeed that 'Abdallah al-Qaq is a member of the administrative body of the union of Palestinian writers and journalists, Kuwait branch. So how did they suddenly become "Jordanianized," and change from Palestinian citizens into Jordanian ones?

Everyone knows that the total number given has no relation as such to the "Jordanian" community, but rather is the number of the Palestinian community in Kuwait. Here things start to be clear: we are faced with Jordanian ambitions to once again affiliate the affairs of the Palestinian community with the government's agencies by "Jordanianizing" them as long as they bear Jordanian passports and as long as Jordan considers them to be, in spite of their wishes, a part of its subjects. It does not hide its desire to organize their affairs apart from any other aspect that might have a connection to this community. What the working paper presents is clear: "Representation of the Jordanian expatriates by a number of the Senate members," that is, representatives of the Palestinian community in dispersion within the Senate. This is a step forward with regard to Jordan, for it has begun to revive the parliament, half of whose members represent the West Bank [as published], and is now completing its representation with regard to the Palestinians in the areas of refuge and dispersal. Here it becomes clear that Jordan's old presumption that it represented the Palestinian of the interior and that the PLO represented the Palestinians abroad is no longer enough or satisfactory to the regime. What is being asked now is that the PLO's representation of all Palestinians at home and abroad be completely done away with. Is not that the essence of this proposal?

To complete this picture, we see another proposal in the working paper which talks about "facilitating steps to grant entry visas to those who carry documents." Which documents are these they are talking about? Are they not those relating to the Palestinians of Gaza and the other areas of dispersal?

The working paper also talks about "setting up councils for the Jordanian community in Kuwait for solving their problems." Here another question appears: What is the purpose of these councils?

#### Attempt to Pull the Rug Out from Under the Feet of the Organization

It can be said that this movement did not come suddenly out of a vacuum. It came directly following the Amman agreement, that agreement that in the beginning gave Jordan the right to participate with the PLO in representing the Palestinian people, but starting with this right which Jordan guaranteed in the Amman agreement, the regime's departments began to act, not on the basis of participation, but on the basis that Jordan now had a monopoly over this representation, and that by agreeing to this right to participate, this meant that the PLO right and Fatah would in the end surrender the right to represent the Palestinian people to Jordan completely, not half the representation. So that the signers of the Amman agreement could attain this end, the regime's systems began the process of pulling the carpet out from under the feet of the PLO in the areas of dispersion as well as at home.

What was prepared in Kuwait is just an example of the activities of the Jordanian embassies abroad, since AL-HURRIYAH has learned that at the same time the Jordanian regime has been carrying out activities in countries where there are Palestinian communities or student groups, such as in Western Europe, Morocco and the rest of the Gulf states.

All this puts the popular Palestinian unions in a tight spot. After the Amman agreement became a threat to the future of the Palestinian national movement and the rights of the Palestinian people, we see that the first consequences of applying this agreement carry the seeds of the danger that these popular Palestinian unions might be split apart, contained, and drained of their representative nature. Here it becomes clear why it is so important that one be aware of what the Jordanian regime's agencies are planning.

Faced with the gravity of what Jordan has begun within and outside of the [West] Bank, we see that most of the popular Palestinian unions have resorted to silence as if they were watching their graves being dug without any attempt to stop this plan from being successful. What is being proposed now is serious, and tangibly explains why all national powers and personalities opposed the Amman agreement. This agreement began the surrender by having Jordan share the right to represent the Palestinian people with the PLO, and if its application is insisted upon, it will lead to the complete surrender of this right of representation to Jordan and to doing away with the PLO and all its popular organizations.

Faced with all this we say: the time has come for all the popular Palestinian unions to stand up and to pronounce their opinion aloud: the Amman agreement will only lead to the rights of the Palestinian people and their national movement being struck down, and any attempts to make this agreement look good will only make a victim out of the Palestinian national movement, including these popular establishments and unions.

12547

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23 May 1985

QATAR

## VARIOUS ASPECTS OF NATION'S ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE NOTED

Riyadh AL-RIYAD in Arabic 13 Mar 85 p 17

/Article: "A Gulf Report: Qatar's Domestic Product Has Been Witnessing Positive Progress for Years"/

/Text/ The nation of Qatar has been pursuing an economic policy which is characterized by flexibility and rapid adjustment to the new conditions and international economic circumstances prevailing now, with the goal of continuing the processes of economic development in the country while adopting a system of priorities which will have their positive effect on various economic sectors and ward off the effect of fluctuations occurring in the international economy.

Mr 'Ali Hasan al-Khalaf, director of the Department of Economic Affairs in the Ministry of Economy and Trade, pointed out that the report the department has prepared shows the various agricultural and industrial achievements which have been realized in various economic fields in the country of Qatar under the aegis of his highness the emir's wise leadership.

The report says that the country's gross domestic product has been witnessing positive progress for a number of years, recording a great growth rate in comparison with that which other countries are realizing.

The report, which was prepared by the Department of Economic Affairs in the Ministry of Economy and Trade, points out that the average (growth in) gross domestic product in the period 1979-1981 came to about 28 percent a year, but the estimates indicate that there has been a decline in the growth rate in the years 1982-83 which occurred as an expected result of the drop in the product of the strategic industries sector, oil, which still assumed relative importance of 45.9 percent of gross domestic product in 1983, 52.4 percent in 1982 and 64 percent in 1981.

This resulted in an increase in the relative importance of other sectors. In addition, some of these sectors realized a relative increase in their levels of economic performance in comparison with 1982--for instance water, electricity, basic industries, transport and communications and agriculture.

As regards industrial production, in spite of the difficulties arising from the narrow range of the local market, the rise in construction costs and the relative paucity of skilled manpower, the government took the initiative in the early seventies of building an industrial base, having allocated areas for industry equipped with infrastructure projects and trained human personnel, in addition to incentives and facilities to encourage investment in industries which have shown their economic feasibility.

These efforts have led to the establishment of a modern industry which is developing its output in tangible form in terms of volume and quality and this has had a positive effect in responding to the needs of the local market, diversifying and developing domestic exports and making new job opportunities available to citizens. They indicate that basic industrial products realized a great increase of about 25 percent in production in 1984 in comparison with the levels of 1983 and the years preceding that.

Production of iron reinforcement bars came to 475,000 tons in 1984 as compared with 470,000 tons in 1983.

Production of chemical fertilizers realized a forward leap in 1984, since production came to 632,000 tons of ammonia and 734,000 tons of urea as compared with 86,000 tons and 685,000 tons, respectively, in 1983. These figures mean that production increased by 8 percent over the production level of the preceding year.

Total production of ethylene, polyethylene and sulphur came to 387,000 tons in 1984 as compared with 327,000 tons the previous year, an increase of 18.4 percent.

As regards natural gas liquids, production of propane, butane and condensates came to 906,000 tons as compared with 705,000 tons in 1983. In the case of gas rich in ethane, which is used for industrial purposes, production of that came to 79,000 tons (sic) in 1984 as compared with 419,000 tons in 1983.

Production of cement reached its highest level, or about 259,000 tons, in 1984, as compared with 162,000 tons the previous year. This leap in production has come about as a result of the increase in local demand and the addition of a new production unit.

As regards petroleum products, the operation of the new refinery at a productive capacity of 50,000 barrels a day has led to an increase in production over domestic consumption for the first time and the realization of a surplus for export, since production in 1984 came to about 683,300 tons as compared with 377,000 tons in 1983, while local consumption for various purposes during that year came to about 519,000 tons and the volume of exports of these products realized for the first time came to 119,400 tons.

For a number of years the government's efforts have been directed toward developing the agricultural sector with the goal of increasing local production of food commodities and materials to provide self-sufficiency in food

locally, in order to cope with unfavorable circumstances in terms of the limited scope of arable land, the lack of availability of water and the constant increase in demand for foodstuffs. The government, in cooperation with Arab and international organizations, has started to use the best scientific methods, and technology in developing this sector, in view of the positive effect that has had in increasing agricultural production.

The government is continuing its efforts to provide self-sufficiency in food in the Gulf and Arab contexts through its interest in the strategic food contribution to joint Arab agricultural projects in the local and Arab contexts.

As a result of the continuous efforts the government is making in the area of agriculture to achieve balance between the quantities of foodstuffs which can be provided locally and the volume of local demand for these commodities, the agricultural sector has been able to meet a large proportion of the country's requirements for necessary foodstuffs. Fish production covered about 84 percent of these requirements, vegetables 49 percent and milk and milk products 32 percent; as regards meat and eggs, production of both came to 11 percent of total consumption in the case of each during 1983.

On the subject of the volume of consumption and the level of prices, the report pointed out that the economic policy of the nation of Qatar has had the objective, since the early seventies, of seeking to raise the citizens' standard of living, and one of its positive effects has been the provision of all basic commodities and suitable prices, reduction of the rise in costs of living and protection of the Qatar economy from the negative effects arising from international economic vicissitudes.

The figures indicate that the volume of consumption of foodstuffs, which accounts for the most important category of family spending, came to 252,200 tons in 1983, an increase of 17 percent over the 1982 level. This volume is not expected to have dropped in 1984; nevertheless, the annual rate of increase in the general level which the indices on living expenses refer to did not exceed 5 percent in 1982-83. This is to be considered a suitable rate in a country which relies on imports to meet a large percentage of its needs.

The report pointed out that in 1984 the general price level dropped by 2 percent from the general price level of 1983 and that the declining trend which marked the general price level last year has indirectly increased the buying power of the Qatar riyal domestically, in addition to the stability the Qatar riyal enjoys on the international context, vis-a-vis foreign currencies, since it provides positive earnings through increased domestic income and an improved standard of living in the country.

The report stated that the government has sought to establish an integrated banking system, out of its belief in the vital role of banks in supporting the domestic economy. The government's encouragement has had its effect in

the establishment of a number of domestic banks, whose number increased to five at the end of 1984, in addition to a set number of foreign bank branches.

The domestic banks embarked on their activities and their activity developed greatly in a relatively short period of time, during which they have performed financial services for the country's economy.

The banks' main data point out that the volume of domestic banks' paid-up capital came to a total of about 261.5 million riyals as compared with 50.2 million riyals in the capital of foreign banks. This reflects the level of activity of each and the services they perform for our national economy. At the end of 1983, the share of facilities provided by domestic banks came to 62 percent of the reserve of facilities, while the total share non-Qatar banks provided did not exceed 38 percent. It is expected that the yield from their activities will exceed this rate in 1984.

The report pointed out that the foreign trade sector enjoys maximum importance in the country's economic activity; therefore, the country's economic policy has had the goal of developing and diversifying domestic exports and guiding imports.

The efforts the government has exerted in developing the industrial sector have had a large effect in the attainment of a large degree of self-sufficiency in basic industrial products perceptible increases in their exports during 1984 in comparison with their level in 1983 and preceding years. The figures show that basic commodity exports came to a total of 2.74 million tons in 1984 as compared with 2.16 million tons in 1983, an increase of 27 percent, as follows:

**Chemical fertilizers:** exports of urea and ammonia came to about 919,000 tons in 1984 as compared with 882,000 tons in 1983. Most of these went to Asian countries.

**Iron and steel:** exports of iron and steel came to 475,000 tons in 1984 as compared with 407,000 tons in 1983. It is well known that all exports are directed toward the Arab Gulf countries, in varying rates.

**Petrochemicals:** the volume of petrochemicals exported was estimated at about 230,800 tons as compared with 175,000 tons the previous year. These were exported to various countries of the world.

**Natural gas liquids:** total exports of propane, butane and condensates came to 990,800 tons in 1984 as compared with 692,300 tons last year. The major share of these products are exported to Japan and Spain.

**Petroleum products:** Since a new oil refinery went into operation at a productive capacity of 50,000 barrels a day at the end of 1983, a surplus for export was realized for the first time in 1984; this came to a total of 119,400 tons of various products.

In view of the quality that distinguishes Qatar's industries, which compete with their equivalents in the industrial countries, their exports invaded a large number of the countries of the world and met with broad receptivity in the markets of developing and industrial countries alike because of their quality and commitment to delivery dates.

The report pointed out that imports returned to their normal level in 1983 in comparison with 1979--1982, coming to 5,298,600,000 riyals in value, a great drop from their level in 1982, when imports increased perceptibly as a result of local demand for the necessary commodities for industrial development purposes.

The figures point out that the decline in imports in 1983 was concentrated in machinery, equipment and transportation equipment, with a share of 34 percent, which assumes great importance relative to the total volume of imports because of the completion of a number of development, industrial and construction projects.

In addition, imports of manufactured goods witnessed a decline of 28 percent from the 1982 level. This 1983 decline, which occurred in the most important categories of imports, can be attributed, in addition, to the decline in local demand for capital commodities and the increased contribution by domestic industrial and agricultural products in responding to local consumption needs. It can also be attributed to the continued decline in the prices of currencies of most countries exporting to the nation of Qatar relative to the Qatar riyal.

Preliminary estimates indicated that the volume of imports in 1984 is expected to be at its level, or slightly below it, in 1983, for the same reasons as the foregoing.

The European economic group countries, Japan and the United States continued to be among the most important countries supplying the nation of Qatar. Japan continued to occupy first place among the countries exporting to the nation of Qatar in 1983, with a share of 21.8 percent, followed by the United Kingdom, with a share of 16.7 percent of total imports.

In its discussion of the private sector and its role in serving the domestic economy, the report stated that the country embraces the free economic system, which effect gives private capital an opportunity to take part in various aspects of economic activity. In spite of that, the sector's participation in areas of economic development has been limited, restricted in general to commercial activities, construction and some light industries and services. However, the government has continued to encourage this sector and support it in order to bring it out of the state of isolation and introversion dominating its activities and direct it toward extensive investment horizons, in order to get it to participate in vital development projects, in order to support the domestic economy.

One result of this encouragement has been the emergence of private sector activity in more extensive form, since it has been concerned with the development of contracting activities and has entered areas of intermediate and small industries such as the industrial detergent, dye, sponge, building material, readymade home, plastic and food product industries and others and thus has contributed in part to the country's self-sufficiency in certain commodities which these industries produce. Indeed, some of these have gone beyond that stage and have entered the stage of exporting to neighboring countries.

The legislation the country has issued regarding investment areas whose development is occurring constantly has occurred to keep abreast of economic circumstances in the country, in affirmation of the importance of the domestic private sector role in the areas of economic development and the country's orientation toward the establishment of comprehensive, balanced development among the various sectors.

Among these items of legislation which regulate the entry of the private sector into various investment areas are the industrial regulation Law 11 for 1980 and Law 11 on companies for 1981. The goal of both of these is to pave the way for the private sector to perform its natural role and participate effectively in various economic activities.

The government's efforts, which have been aimed at the participation by private capital in supporting the domestic economy, have not stopped at the issuance of legislation. Indeed, they have gone beyond that to a practical stage, which is the establishment of a number of corporations operating in the sectors of industry, trade, agriculture and services and the provision of an opportunity to the private sector to share in these companies.

All these factors resulted in providing incentives to this sector to invest in various areas and increase their performance levels in past years. The total capital invested in trade, industry and services in 1984 came to 9,931,700,000 riyals, an increase of 9.3 percent over 1983. The general indices show that the private sector's activity is growing constantly and its results will be conspicuously apparent in the course of the next few years.

In the foreign context, the policy of the nation of Qatar has been characterized by the development of cooperation with the countries of the world. In the Gulf framework, the nation of Qatar's policy has been directed toward the implanting and deepening of relations between it and the Gulf countries. These relations have become more deeply implanted with the establishment of the Cooperation Council of Arab Gulf Countries, which is considered a transformation from a stage where economic cooperation among Gulf countries occurred through bilateral relations and numerous small channels to collective relations and a single large channel. In spite of the numerous bilateral agreements which governed economic relations among Gulf countries before the establishment of the Cooperation Council, and in spite of the importance of the importance of the measures which have been taken along the road to economic cooperation, they were of limited effect and fell short of an

ambitious level; therefore the Cooperation Council emerged, to function as an instrument for growth, economic integration and stability among the countries in it in the framework of comprehensive Arab cooperation.

The volume of trade between the nation of Qatar and its fraternal countries in the Cooperation Council came to about 616.4 million riyals in 1983, an increase of 5 percent over the 1983 level. This is considered a positive development in the nation of Qatar's commercial relations with the Cooperation Council countries.

As regards imports, the nation of Qatar's imports from Cooperation Council countries realized a great increase in 1982, since their value came to 264 million riyals as compared with 219 million riyals in 1981, but they dropped to about 173 million riyals in 1983, as did imports from the other countries of the world, because of the country's pursuit of a policy of import guidance and self-reliance whose success was assisted by the constant increase in the volume of domestic products.

As far as exports go, these came to about 443.5 million riyals in 1983 as compared with 324.7 million riyals in 1982, an increase of 37 percent. This increase occurred as a result of the change in the structure of domestic exports to Gulf countries, since new commodities natural gas liquids and some private sector products such as sponges and industrial detergents, constituted a part of these, whereas they had been restricted in 1982 and the years before that to iron, steel, petrochemicals and chemical fertilizers.

In the Arab and international contexts, the country of Qatar concluded a number of bilateral economic agreements with Arab and foreign countries, the most recent of which were economic cooperation agreements with Pakistan, India, South Korea and Japan as a result of the tour his highness the emir of Qatar made in 1984 to support economic relations between the nation of Qatar and those countries.

The nation of Qatar's contribution to the capital of Arab funds and organizations which have the goal of supporting development in the Arab world and Africa, in addition to the aid they offer countries directly or through various funds and financial organizations, has had a great effect in supporting economic cooperation between the country of Qatar and the foreign world, along with the rise to prominence of the role of the nation of Qatar in international gatherings through its positive participation in the activities of Arab, regional and international organizations.

Doha receives many delegations every year from various countries with the objective of carrying out talks on ways for supporting bilateral relations with the country of Qatar in various areas, including the economic and commercial ones.

11887

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SYRIA

OIL PLAYS STRATEGIC ROLE IN ECONOMY

Damascus SYRIA TIMES in English 25 Feb 85 p 3

[Article by Tomader Fateh]

[Text]

Syria's oil production which is estimated at 200,000 barrels a day, does not make her in the same category as the OPEC, but currently held prospections in various sites of the country are promising.

Oil prospection in Syria started in 1963 when the Ba'ath Party advocated the slogan of "national investment" of oil. This very hard task of investment was assigned to the Syrian Petroleum Company (SPC), which spares no efforts in this respect. In fact, the Company carries out and supervises all prospection, drilling and excavation works in the country. In addition, it undertakes the task of marketing produced crude oil and gas. Operations relating to oil exploitation have been carried out nationally, in the service of the country's economic interests.

The Ba'ath Party 7th Regional Congress which was held in 1979, gave top priority to the oil industry, called for more prospection work and stressed the need that fields of heavy oil be developed. Although Syria is an

agricultural country, and developing industry in it is not an easy task, yet the petroleum sector has been greatly developed, especially following the launching of the Correctionist Movement.

Nevertheless, the process of oil prospection in Syria is not easy, compared to that in other countries due to the special nature of soil, the depth of drilled wells and the difficulties of oil production processes.

Through the support of the Ba'ath Party and the government, workers and technicians of the SPC could fulfil all assigned duties by means of local expertise. The SPC owns various types of drilling machines, by which production processes of oil have been carried out and then the produced amounts of crude oil transported to the Homs and the Baniyas refineries.

In order to minimize expenditure and to introduce advanced scientific methods of petroleum prospection and exploitation, the SPC's technical team set up oil pumping units, which facilitate drilling works at minimum prices.

The SPC operates oil fields in the north-eastern parts of the country at Swaidieh-Karatchuk and Jbeseh. Newly developed fields are Tishreen and Sheikh Mansour.

The small fields of Wahab, Hasso and Yabassi were discovered in 1978.

The Baniyas refinery has an annual capacity of million tonnes. This exceeds the country's total annual production of 9.5 million tonnes. This means that Syria is the only Arab country, whose refineries production capacity is greater than its oil production.

The Homs refinery processes 2.5 million tonnes of Syrian heavy crude oil and 2.5 million tonnes of light crude oil. Capacity of the Baniyas refinery enables it to process a blend ranging from 20 percent Syrian crude and 80 percent light imported crude and other 50 percent imported crude.

The Baniyas refinery has helped in reducing the country's imports of gas oil which represents 50 percent of the country's local consumption of refined



products. Gas oil includes fuel oil, used for heating purposes and diesel oil used for highway transport vehicles and agricultural machinery.

Among 100 oil producing countries, Syria occupies 31st position in production and the 30th for its crude reserves.

First oil prospection works started in 1892. But actual scientific, integrated and drilling methods were applied by the government in 1957.

Until 1982, the national public sector carried out 85.5 percent out of 829513m of drilling works. It discovered 89 percent of a total 27 oil fields and completed all development and drilling work of 115523 m. In addition, some 113.6 million M3 of crude oil and 4.3 billion M3 of gas have been produced.

Actually, the government has mobilized all required potentials for oil discovery and production. Up to 1982, value of total investment of oil was estimated at LS 3.78 billion. Oil industry has succeeded in attaining optimum revenue compared with other competitive industries. Each Syrian pound invested in oil industry, since the beginning of the production task and up to 1982, provided LS 9.5. A surplus of LS 35.8 billion has

been obtained from the starting year of production in 1968 to 1982. Expenditure on this industry has been compensated by 1973.

During the past eight years, oil industry had a contribution of 10 percent of the Gross National Production (GNP). Moreover, crude oil occupies 63 percent of the country's exports.

Based on the strategy of the oil role in developing national economy, acceleration of oil prospection in Syria will boost the country's progress and prosperity. Full studies of the increase in oil prices, will eventually lead to a discovery of new gas fields of Najib and al Sekhneh.

Current statistics show that the gas factory will provide a surplus of LS 570 million. Internal Rate of Oil Return (IROR) of 19.16 percent and a period of 9.25 year—to compensate the capital spent. The discovery of new oil fields will provide a surplus ranging between LS 5 billion to 132, according to the size of the discovered field. A study carried out on four oil fields showed that these fields brought GNP of 8.16 percent and 160 million M3 of oil. The said fields will provide an IROR ranging from 156 percent to 230 percent.

Exploitation of al-Sekhneh field has provided a GNP of LS 852 million and IRR of 38.5 percent, while Najib field provided GNP of LS 267 million and IRR of 9.18 percent. All oil discoveries, up to 1982, have been analysed, and on the basis of the analysis, 85 million M3 of oil will be exploited during the forthcoming 15 years, providing a surplus of LS 40 billion to 70, according to the volumes of the discovered fields (estimated Gross production of a small field is 8 million M3 and 80 million M3 from a medium one).

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SYRIA

## AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION GAINS REVIEWED

Damascus SYRIA TIMES in English 25 Mar 85 p 3

[Article by T. Mahadi]

[Excerpts]

**The March 8th Revolution** drastically changed most of the old economic and social relations which prevailed in the pre-1983 epoch and quickly founded a solid base for the building up of a new unified Arab society. The revolution had not been motivated by the need to end partition and the disintegration of the Arab nation only but was also intended to cope, first of all, with the economic and social situations responsible for backwardness in Syria.

Around 31 percent out of the total number of Syrian farmers are working in the agricultural sector, according to 1983 statistics. Despite the fact that the number of people working in agriculture is on the decrease, the general output of the production maintained its normal rate. Syrian farming exports amount to 13 percent of the overall exports, but the ratio has dropped steadily

because of the following reasons:

— The increase of industrial exports which do not include agricultural items.

— The slow increase at exported agricultural materials against the ratio of the overall exports.

But although the value of exported agricultural materials increased to LS 507 million in 1970 or 65 percent of the overall Syrian exports, and although these values increased appreciably in 1973 and in 1983, the exports rate did not exceed 13 percent of Syrian exports which increased from LS 775 million in 1970 to LS 7547 million in 1983.

It could be said that the building of the tractors factory in Aleppo represented a new developed phase of agriculture in Syria. As the number of farmers and workers decreased in the past few years, the need to replace

machinery became urgent and necessary.

The number of tractors used in agriculture jumped from 6698 in 1963 to 37,520 in 1984, that is by 466 percent.

Moreover, the number of harvesters increased from 1660 in 1963 to 2807 in 1984, representing a 69 percent rate of increase. The number of irrigation pumps jumped from 20,990 in 1963 to 66,205 in 1984, representing an increase of 215 percent.

Another factory for ammonia was built, which produced 56,230 tonnes in 1983, which meant a great deal for agriculture.

Concerning development of livestock, the government increased the number of the cooperatives and farms of cattle, sheep, fish and poultry production. The General Establishment for Poultry consists of eight farms for poultry production in Damascus, Hama, Tartous, Aleppo, Idleb, Sweida and Homs.

In 1983 these farms produced 5,429 tonnes of poultry meat and about 174 million eggs.

As for cereal and vegetable production, the rate increased enormously between 1963 and 1983.

The crops of cotton, tobacco and sugar beet also multiplied; thus cotton production jumped to 526,000 tonnes in 1983 against 442,000 tonnes in 1982, an increased 25

percent. In 1963 total production was 410,000 tonnes. The increase in crop production was due to the special attention paid by the government, although the area cultivated dropped from 292,000 hectares in 1963 to 176,000 hectares in 1983.

As for the production of sugar, the government has multiplied the number of plants for sugar production where the overall quotas jumped from 87,000 tonnes in 1963 to about 133,000 tonnes in 1984, achieving an increase of 1,202 percent. The production of sugar beet has been increasing annually; the quotas of 1981

reached 564,000 tonnes, while it increased many fold in 1984. These increases were due to the horizontal expansion of the cultivated

areas, their total area having risen from 4,000 hectares in 1963 to 35,000 in 1984.

As for vegetable production, the cultivated areas increased between 1963 and 1984, the increase reaching a rate of 53 percent.

Milk derivatives, such as butter and yugort, meat production and the breeding of livestock improved because of the

encouragement given by the authorities, the "red meat" (cow, sheep) increased between 1963 and 1984 by 156 percent, the production

in 1976 having been 64,000 tonnes only. The "white meat" (poultry) in 1984 increased by 490 percent.

Undoubtedly, Syria has achieved great results since

the launching of the March Revolution, especially in the agricultural sector. But other fields of production await their turn of improvement.

SYRIA

# AL-KHABUR DAMS TO IRRIGATE 100,000 ACRES

Damascus SYRIA TIMES in English 3 Apr 85 p 3

[Article by T. Mahadi]

[Text]

The General Cement Company and its affiliated branches produced 4.5 million tonnes of cement in 1984 and it is expected that production will total 5 million in 1985. The company sources indicated that the production output will go up quickly in the next few months to enable the country to export large quantities of cement to foreign markets. A number of contracts with the company have been signed this year to export extra quantities of cement production. These include the export of super kinds of cement called "Types", of which the Tartous Cement company produces enough quotas. Shipments of this kind of cement will begin next month to foreign markets. The increase of cement production made the Syrian company search for possible ways to export cement. Some 100,000 tonnes were transported through land to

neighbouring countries. Another contract was signed to export 500,000 tonnes by sea during the next month. In order to secure economic benefits out of the exportation process, the company made a series of technical studies on how to minimise costs of exports by sea. Efforts are now concentrating on increasing ship loads from 500 tonnes per day to 1500 per day. The company has sought to improve the quality and durability of the enveloping materials or plastic sacks which would encourage dealers abroad to import more Syrian cement. It was decided that the companies of Adra, Tartous and Aleppo should have plastics factories to produce sacks needed for the major companies of cement. The Tartous Plastics factory has a capacity of producing 1500 tonnes per day.

The fifth five-year plan earmarked LS17 billion for agricultural development in

Syria, where the large part of the allocated sums went to agrarian reform and land reclamation. Dams and water pumping stations were also enlarged in the cultivated areas of al-Jazera region.

On the 22nd anniversary of the March Revolution, the government went ahead with a plan to carry out a series of irrigation projects on the Khabour River in the north-eastern parts of the country. The national water carrier of al-Baleich basin will irrigate around 100,000 hectares. It will be completed in three stages.

The first stage includes the building of a water carrier of 18km length, which draws water from Lake Assad. The second stage includes the building of a water carrier of 52 km. length, and the last stage comprises a water carrier of 34 km length. The first main water carrier will secure irrigation for 6,200 hectares

and its cost will exceed LS 850 million. The second water carrier will irrigate 15,000 hectares and its cost is expected to amount to LS 556 million.

The Syrian authorities have planned to enlarge the cultivated areas of the Khabour River basin where a foundation stone for a dam on the river was laid in the 1980's.

This dam will provide water for 150,000 hectares, stretching from Ras al-Ain town in the north to al-Sour town in the Deir al-Zour governorate.

The planned dam will exploit all water wealth of al-Khabour river which is estimated at 1.6 billion cubic metres.

The Khabour project is considered one of the major economic projects in Syria.

It consists of three major regions: the first region or area, planned for irrigation, extends from Ras al-Ain to the western Dam of Hassaka and including 52,300 hectares, the cost of which is estimated at LS 2250 million. The rivulets and springs of Ras al-Ain will provide the irrigation water needed for these vast areas of land.

The second region extends from the western Dam of Hassaka to the north-eastern parts of the governorate, where an area of 53,200 hectares are to be irrigated, the cost of which process is estimated at LS 2000 million.

The artificial lakes of the Western and Eastern dams of Hassaka will feed the area with water.

The third region or area extends from the approaches of al-Khabour dam, south of the Hassaka city to al-Sour town in Deir al-Zour. The irrigated land areas are estimated at 48,200 hectares. Its costs will amount to LS 2075 million.

Syria and Bulgaria signed contracts last year by which Bulgaria would cooperate in executing the two dams of Hassaka in return for LS 542 million... The time fixed for carrying out the contract is 42 months.

An estimated area of 35,000 hectares, near the town of Ras-al-Ain, will be prepared for cultivation after the completion of the water carrier which will secure an electric power output of 18/mw (megawatt) in 1988. The

other two areas will enlarge the cultivated areas by 105,500/ hectares in 1995. The completion of the project is expected to end in the year 2000.

Specifications of al-Khabour Dam: Height 28 meters Length 8710 metres. Deposit capacity 665 million cubic metres.

Lake's area 9580 hectares electricity generation station 8/megawatt Properties of the Western Dam of Hassaka: Height 31 metres. Length 2860 metres. Deposit capacity 91 million cubic metres.

Lake's area 1,020 hectares Electric generation 12.5/megawatt. The Eastern Dam of Hassaka: Height 26 metres.

Length 9370 metres. Deposit capacity 232 million cubic metres.

Lake's area 3100 hectares.

SYRIA

## PROJECTS LAUNCHED ON REVOLUTION ANNIVERSARY

Damascus SYRIA TIMES in English 6 Mar 85 p 2

[Text]

### GOVERNORATES.

(SANA) — Festivals and plans to celebrate the 22nd anniversary of the March 8 Revolution launched by the Ba'ath Arab Socialist Party, and the re-election of President Hafez Assad for a third term continued yesterday all over the country.

The Damascus University will hold a book exhibition between March 10 and 20. Hundreds of scientific, and literary books in addition to encyclopedias written by Arab and foreign authors will be displayed at the exhibition.

On the other hand, the leadership of the Damascus Countryside Party Branch holds a mass rally next Thursday to mark the two occasions. In the course of the celebrations, foundation stones will be laid for a number of projects and other projects will be inaugurated.

The Aleppo governorate also completed preparations for celebrating the occasions.

Aleppo's celebrations will include the inauguration and initiation of numerous investment and services projects.

The governorate's people's organizations will hold a number of cultural, literary and artistic activities, as an expression of loyalty to the President, leader of the Arab people's march for victory and liberation.

The Governor of Aleppo, Mr. Mohammad Mawaldi, gave a statement to SANA pointing out the achievements fulfilled in the governorate following the March 8 Revolution. A large number of factories, dams, schools, and roads were constructed and many other services projects were carried out, he said.

On the level of economic and social development, he added, industrial projects carried out included a factory to produce glass and lamps at a production capacity of about 390 thousand tonnes a year, a factory for car batteries, at an annual production capacity of 150,000 batteries, a tractor factory producing 4,000 tractors a year, a cables factory with a production capacity of about 2,500 tonnes per year, in addition to various textile, cement, ready garments, sugar, and carpet factories.

On the agricultural level, the governor went on, a large number of nurseries were set up, over 62 agricultural guidance units were established, and agricultural machinery was introduced to help farmers in various agricultural activities. Moreover, he asserted, several studies were prepared to reclaim desert land.

A number of poultry farms, live-stock development centres and stations were also set up, the Governor said.

On the other hand, a foundation stone for the construction of Ifreen dam project was laid. The dam will provide a constant source of irrigation water for neighbouring agricultural lands. The dam is 245-m long, 180-m wide and 30-m high. The lake formed by the water reserved by the dam is expected to be 150 sq.m. at a storing capacity of 250,000 cubic meters.

In the public services field, the governor pointed out, numerous clinics were set up both in the city and the countryside, in addition to the building of two hospitals in Izzaz and al-Bab areas, at a

total cost of LS 65 million. Moreover, a major hospital was opened for the treatment of workers, as a step towards the application of full health security for workers.

On the other hand, electricity was provided last year to over 600 villages and nine power-generating stations were put in operation in the same period.

On the level of housing, new housing quarters were built in al-Hamadania and al-Haidariah suburbs where 14,000 housing units were built, in addition to new quarters built in various parts of new Aleppo.

Concerning education development, five secondary industrial schools have been built and studies are currently underway to build ten additional industrial and commercial secondary schools as well as for the construction of girls' schools for housekeeping, he concluded.

In Lattakia, a special programme was prepared to mark the two occasions. The programme includes the inauguration of, and the laying of, foundation stones for a number of projects. It also includes the holding of a mass rally, during which speeches on behalf of people's organizations, the Progressive National Front and the Ba'ath Party will be delivered.

The Homs Party Branch will also hold a mass rally on

Thursday in addition to a huge demonstration to be staged by students, youths, workers, farmers and citizens.

On these occasions, the Homs working class will hold a production month, in which about 50,000 workers will take part. During this month, production championships will also be held.

Raqqa governorate also continued preparations to mark the two occasions. A mass rally will be held today,

during which speeches on behalf of the Ba'ath Party, the Progressive National Front and people's organizations will be delivered. Several artistic and cultural activities will be held in the course of the celebrations. Moreover, a number of services and investment projects will be inaugurated or initiated.

A production month will be held by the working class. Over 300 young people have volunteered to take part in the month, as an expression of appreciation and gratitude for the leader of the Arab nation, President Assad, and as a gesture of support for the national Lebanese resistance.

In Dara'a, a celebration was held Tuesday morning to lay the foundation stone of an agricultural mechanization station project, expected to cost LS 50 million. A school and an agricultural guidance unit were inaugurated in the countryside.

CSO: 4400/131

SYRIA

# EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES ENROLL RECORD NUMBERS

Damascus SYRIA TIMES in English 4 Feb 85 p 3

[Article by Tomader Fateh]

[Text]

It is evident that education was given top priority by the Ba'ath Party and its Secretary General, President Hafez Assad.

The Ministry of Education had prepared a comprehensive report on compulsory education and means of carrying out its programmes.

During six years of hard work by the Ministry to enforce the law of compulsory Education, 87 percent of school age children, who had not been enrolled in elementary schools have joined these schools.

The very aim of the country's strategy is to develop the process of pre-university teaching, being the corner stone for bringing up new generations on scientific foundations.

During the past 50 years, the number of the country's students did not exceed a few hundreds in all stages of teaching, but today their numbers reach millions.

In 1931, the number of pre-university students was 770. They were 36,886 in 1956 and 159,440 students in 1964.

Due to the great attention given to education, the number of students all over the country rose to 284,285 in 1980.

Following the launching of the Correctionist Movement pre-university teaching was greatly developed.

Statistics showed a great increase in the number of students enrolled in schools, especially in recent years.

It might be said that this successive increase is the result of the increase in the total number of the population. But a survey revealed that the increase of number of students is a fact especially after 1970. Indeed statistics show that the ratio of population increase since 1963 to the present time was 93 percent, while the same period shows an increase in the number of students equal to 258 percent.

Despite the basic role played by women in social activities, they did not receive enough care, especially in the field of education.

The Correctionist Movement's concentration on the education of women students has a decisive effect on developing women's mentality and enlightenment.

Average increase in the number of girl students during 1963-1983 was 371 percent in the elementary stage of study, and 926 percent in that of preparatory schools, 84 percent in the secondary stage of teaching and 280 percent in secondary technical schools.

President Hafez Assad's wise leadership spares no efforts to support education through providing well-qualified teachers, who are capable of bringing up new generations on correct scientific principles. Statistics said that in 1970, the number of teachers of



elementary schools was 23,294 and increased to 60,827 in 1983.

President Assad's directives recommended that boarding schools should be set up in various parts of the country. Needed sums were allocated to build schools all over the country in order to meet the continued expansion in students numbers. The number of schools was 6,320 in 1970. This figure increased to 9,590 in 1980 and 10,865 in 1984. These figures do not include kindergartens found all over the country.

Average increase in the number of elementary schools was 119 percent, 292 percent for the preparatory, 319 percent for secondary schools and 986 percent to the technical ones.

The country's exerted efforts to enforce education have been great. In 1984, some LS 41,289,000 was allocated to the educational sector. This represents an increase of LS 63,422 over the sums allocated in 1983.

Moreover, Syrian laws enjoy free of charge education.

Through the application of law no 35, of 1984 on compulsory education, 91 percent of 6-9 years old children were enrolled in schools. As for technical education, President Assad's directives in 1980 recommended an increase in the number of industrial secondary schools.

Number of industrial and technical secondary schools

was 14 in 1970. There were 23 schools with 6,819 students in 1980, and 76 schools of 36,909 students in 1984. This meant that the average increase in the number of the said schools, during 20 years, was 986 percent and that the increase in the number of men students was 11,26 percent and female ones was 2,807 percent. President Assad's great care was not limited to the technical sector of teaching but covered all fields of higher education.

Damascus University was established in 1923. But it can be said that this university is the very fruit of the Correctionist Movement, since the era following the launching of that movement witnessed a great expansion in buildings, and the number of students and the teaching staff.

During recent years, buildings and auditoriums for faculties were built.

These included the faculties of Letters, Medicine Agriculture, Mechanical Engineering, the children hospital, and buildings for the Departments of Physics, Chemistry, Sciences, and Architecture. Some 13 additional residential units to provide lodging for students have been built.

In 1970, the number of students enrolled in Damascus university was 31,852. They were 42,205 in 1974; 44,189 in 1975; 75,176 in 1980; 67,965 in 1981; 70,039 in 1982 and 71,701 in

1983. The number of the teaching staff at Damascus University was 170 in 1970, while the figure has become 1,339 in 1980.

Expansion in Aleppo's university was not limited to the construction of new buildings for old faculties, since new faculties were set up to expand branches of higher education.

At present, there are 12 faculties in Aleppo University, of which 6 were established after the launching of the Correctionist Movement.

The number of students enrolled in Aleppo University was 6,000 in 1970. They became 7,681 students in 1971 and 32,618 students in 1984. Tishreen university was established under Legislative Decree No. 12 of 1971. It includes eight faculties, which are those of Letters, Agriculture, Science, Engineering, Medicine, Mechanical Engineering and Dentistry.

Number of students enrolled in the said faculties was 2,182 in 1974, 9,298 in 1981, and 10,500 in 1983.

Al-Ba'ath University was established in Homs under Legislative decree no 44, dated 14-9-1979. It includes 7 faculties of Veterinary Science, Chemical Engineering, Science, Civil Engineering, Architecture, Dentistry and the Faculty of Letters. In 1980. The number of students in the said faculties was 4,065. It became 5,579 in 1981 and 6,953 at present.

The university was built on an area comprising 1.2 million square meters. Three residential units were built. Each provides lodging for 500 students.

SYRIA

BRIEFS

DAMASCUS AIRPORT ACTIVITIES--Damascus (SANA)--The Damascus International Airport in 1984 realized notable progress in comparison to 1983. An official report made by the General Directorate of Civil Aviation stated that in 1984, the number of arrivals and departures reached 1,513,712 passengers against 1,303,681 in 1983. This represents an increase of 16 percent. The number of planes which landed or took off at the Damascus International Airport in 1984 was 22,754 against 18,468 in 1983, representing an increase of 23 percent. Airmail transport was 1,282 tonnes in 1984 against 979 tonnes in 1983, an increase of 31 percent. Airfreight movement kept the same standard, the report concluded. [Text] [Damascus SYRIA TIMES in English 19 Feb 85 p 3]

ALEPPO WATER PROJECTS--Aleppo (SANA)--Allocations in the 1985 budget of the General Establishment of Water in Aleppo amounted to LS 76 million; of which LS 36 million is allotted for the completion of the third project to supply Aleppo with water; LS 22 million for maintenance projects, and about LS 1.5 million for the building of a canal. A sum of LS 12 million has been allotted to draw water from the outlet to the treatment station and a sum of LS 4 million to carry out other water ducts. [Text] [Damascus SYRIA TIMES in English 3 Mar 85 p 3]

AL-BA'TH DAM PROGRESS--Raqqah (SANA)--Work at the Ba'ath Dam is being carried out by the Land Reclamation Company, the Company's Director General, Mr. Fayez Bakfalawi said yesterday. He added that more than 95 percent of the concrete construction involved will be completed during 1985, and the remaining five percent will be completed after closing the river's flow at the beginning of 1986. Mr. Bakfalawi pointed out that 11,500 cubic meters have already been carried out on one bank of the Dam. Three shifts are working on the Dam daily, he concluded. [Text] [Damascus SYRIA TIMES in English 4 Mar 85 p 3]

AL-HASAKAH DAMS BEGUN--Damascus (SANA)--After a two-day visit to the governorates of Raqqah and Hassaka, the Prime Minister, Dr. Abdul Ra'ouf al-Kasm, returned to Damascus Friday after inaugurating and laying foundation stones for a number of economic projects there. On Friday, Dr. al-Kasm laid a foundation stone for a project involving constructing the eastern and western dams of Hassaka. At the project's site, a celebration was held and was attended by the Hassaka governorate Party and state officials. Addressing the Hassaka citizens, Dr. al-Kasm said: I have come here on directives from President Hafez Assad, to lay foundation stones for a number of important

projects in support of this country's steadfast stand. "I hope that these projects, which will cost billions of pounds, will contribute to bringing prosperity to the country and to backing the battle of steadfastness." [Text] [Damascus SYRIA TIMES in English 24 Mar 85 p 2]

NEW SOVIET AIRLINER--Damascus (SANA)--The first of three TU 154M airliners ordered from the Soviet Union landed yesterday at Damascus Airport. The 150-passenger airliner brings the number of Syrianair fleet to 14. The new airliner can carry 145 passengers. It flies at an altitude of 37 to 39 thousand feet and a speed of over 1,000 km per hour. [Text] [Damascus SYRIA TIMES in English 1 Apr 85 p 3]

CSO: 4400/130

AFGHANISTAN

AFGHANS REPORT 50 KABUL SPIES CAUGHT

Kuala Lumpur NEW STRAITS TIMES in English 31 Mar 85 p 10

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, Sat. — Afghanistan's Muslim fighters captured 50 intelligence officers of the Soviet-backed Babrak Karmal's Communist Government in early March in an Afghan town near the Pakistani border, Afghan resistance leaders in Peshawar announced yesterday.

The resistance leaders, living in the North-West Frontier Province town of Pakistan, said the mujahids captured the 50 "Karmal intelligence officers" in the town of Spin Buldak three weeks ago.

The leaders said one of the captured, Abdul Karim Dawood, disclosed to the fighters "important and sensational" information which they said would soon be made available to the Press.

The leaders did not elaborate but added the mujahids have turned down an offer from Mr Karmal's administration that the fighters would be paid a "big amount of money" in return for the release of the 50.

Mujahid resistance leaders' announcements concerning the guerilla war in Afghanistan cannot be verified or confirmed in Pakistan.

CSO: 4600/405

INDIA

PROSPECTS FOR FEDERALISM, REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT ASSESSED

Bonn AUS POLITIK UND ZEITGESCHICHTE [Supplement to DAS PARLAMENT] in German  
9 Mar 85 pp 6-9, 11-12

[Analysis by Dietmar Rothermund, professor of South Asian history at the University of Heidelberg: "India 1985: A Domestic Political Balance Sheet"]

[Excerpts] III. The Problems and Potential of Indian Federalism

Federalism was imposed on the Indians by the British, although the Indians themselves had had no experience with that type of constitutional form in their own country. The British predilection for federalism was a result of their step-by-step strategy for the transfer of power: provincial Indian governments should largely remain in control of the regions for which they were responsible; however all major issues were to be decided by the central government of the British general governor, who had additional recourse to an emergency provision which allowed for the removal from office of a provincial government and installation of a British provincial governor and his staff to administer the affairs of government. This emergency authority has been conferred upon the state president by the independent Indian constitution, and has become known as the "President's Rule." An instrument of British imperialism; it has thus become a political lever which allows the party in power at the state level to remove undesirable regional governments from power at any time. While it is true that new regional elections must be held within six months after a government has been removed from power, the whole process can be repeated if the results of these elections are deemed unsatisfactory. This political mechanism was set in motion in only a very few instances during the time Jawaharlal Nehru was in power, but under Indira Gandhi the "emergency brake" was applied so many times that it would not be wrong to speak of an abuse of power. It is no wonder, then, that Indian federalists have demanded the repeal of this special emergency authority.

But there are other ways in which the imperial legacy is a burden to Indian federalism. When the British conferred more authority on the Indian provinces in 1935, they did not accede to the provision of the corresponding financial aid. This was the time of worldwide economic crisis, and the British-Indian government found it difficult to balance its budget even in the absence of such aid. If the provinces needed money, they were encouraged to increase their tax revenues. However the taxes which were transferred to the

provinces, such as the land tax, could not be increased at that time. In addition, no Indian politician wanted to make himself unpopular with rural voters by calling for an increase in the land tax. The British-Indian central government reserved for itself all taxes which were more profitable, particularly those which again increased as economic activity improved.

This type of distribution remains largely unchanged today, and the federal Indian government, through the control of development aid and its monopoly in the acceptance of loans, has acquired even more authority, thereby increasing the already existing financial imbalance between the federal government and the provinces. A financial commission meets every five years to equitably distribute state finances as stipulated in the constitution, however the imbalance in the federal finances remains in spite of the fact that the--usually moderate--recommendations of the commission have always been accepted in the past. In the FRG the ratio of the federal budget to the combined budgets of the Laender is roughly 1:1; in India this ratio has recently dropped to 1.6:1 from 2.6:1 initially. In this connection it must also be remembered that in the FRG the sum of all community budgets is almost on a par with the federal and Laender budgets, whereas this financial tendency is much less noticeable in India. In India, all development projects are to initially be handled at a local and regional level. Therefore the top-heavy state of federal finances in India is all the more regrettable.

The examples of emergency authority and state finances have shown on the one hand that Indian federalism is not excessively burdened by its imperial legacy, and on the other that it is an unquestionable advantage for such a large country that a federalistic structure even exists--a structure which is able to permit adaptation of the political life of the country to the varied regional conditions and simultaneously protects the federal government from having to deal with every regional conflict as a state crisis. The assassination of Indira Gandhi, which was brought about by a specific regional conflict, is the exception which proves the rule. In fact, it was her all too intensive involvement in the political affairs of the state of Punjab which led to her assassination. Had she more strictly followed the rules of federalism, this tragedy probably would not have occurred. Precisely in the event of separation of federal and regional parliamentary elections, which was effected by Indira Gandhi, it should be possible for a prime minister to divorce himself or herself from regional politics and concentrate on national affairs. Indira Gandhi did this in her great plebiscite election campaigns, and Rajiv Gandhi has done the same. The involvement in regional political intrigues which characterized Indira Gandhi's final years was therefore more a sign of insufficient confidence than it was an expression of arrogant power politics. Now that a new beginning has been initiated, Indian federalism may be successful in breaking away from its imperial legacy, and the basic potential for political development offered by federalism may bear fruit.

The central Indian Administrative Service which holds India together, once called "steel frame" by the British, can support federalism in this regard. Each of the members of this elite corps is assigned to a specific region at the start of his career; however they all can be freely relocated and often alternate between federal and regional ministries several times during their

terms of service. These civil servants formerly showed a great deal of courage, and did not allow themselves to be browbeaten by the central government. In addition, they were infused with "team spirit" which permitted openness in their dealings with one another and also gave them the assurance that they could rely not only on their subordinates but also on their superiors.

The years of the emergency regime and the following change of government have shaken this esprit de corps and have broken the backs of many officials. Punitive transfers were commonplace for those who did not please those in power. Superiors no longer dared go to bat for their subordinates who, in turn, worked only to rule and showed no individual initiative. Here Rajiv Gandhi must act to restore the self-confidence of the civil servants and motivate them. The days of the imperial "steel frame" are gone, and although the change from a ruling bureaucracy to one which serves the people is desperately needed, the new bureaucracy must not be unsure or afraid to take responsibility, and must not lean toward cynical opportunism.

The statements made about the Indian Administrative Service apply in a similar fashion to the congressional party: It, too, can provide considerable support for federalism if it can be held together, while at the same time showing an autonomous character in each region. As paradoxical as it may sound, the party must free itself from its anti-imperialistic legacy in order to accomplish these goals. During the struggle for independence, the national congress had taken on a centralist structure in order to more effectively combat the empire. After achieving independence, the congressional party had accepted the existing federalistic constitutional form not out of conviction, but rather to keep from endangering national unity and the precarious secular nature of the state through experimentation. The secular nation state was the highest good, and Jawaharlal Nehru was its particularly energetic proponent, whereas the existing constitutional structure was only a means for its preservation. Now, however, secularism and federalism must be defended, as each depends upon the other.

#### V. Economic Growth and Regional Development

In recent years, the Indian economy has been growing at a rate of between 5 and 7 percent per year; with an increase in population of approximately 2.5 percent annually, the annual economic growth rate is still an average of 3 to 4 percent. If the fickle monsoon season does not give India two years of drought in a row, the country will be self-sufficient in terms of grain production. India's agricultural yield per acre is still below that of other countries, and therefore there is sufficient potential for increased production.

In the field of energy as well, self-sufficiency is no longer a distant goal. India has vast coal and oil reserves. After the energy crises of the 1970s which hit India hard, Indian oil production has been vigorously pushed ahead. The extensive continental shelf off India's west coast is probably at least as rich in oil as the North Sea oil areas.

Industrial production, which for more than a decade had been hit by bottlenecks in agricultural production and then by a continuing recession as a result of the energy crisis, shows significant signs of revitalization. Through a policy of liberalization, the government is trying to raise the international competitiveness of Indian industry, which had been shielded from such competition for too long a time by a policy of protectionism. Rajiv Gandhi is a proponent of modern computer technology, and will make an effort to greatly advance India's standing in this field. The unusual talent of the Indians in the field of mathematics, which has been proven again and again since the invention of the zero by an Indian scholar, should guarantee great success in this area.

Overall there is good growth potential within the Indian economy. It is only the distribution of such growth which needs much improvement, both in terms of more uniform distribution of income and purchasing power, and in terms of problems of regional development. Around 10 percent of the Indian population--roughly 70 million people--earn enough money to revitalize the demand for agricultural and industrial production. Although this is quite a healthy market, 630 million Indians are living under conditions of more or less bearable self-sufficiency or on the edge of the hard-to-define existence minimum.

Significant differences in the degree of development from region to region are a symptom of this inequitable distribution: In the east of India--roughly to the east of a line between Delhi and Madras--the standard of living can be compared with that of the poorer countries of Africa, while in the western part of the country the standard of living is largely equivalent to that of Latin America. The urbanization of India is therefore also very unequal. In the east there are few important cities other than the fallen metropolis of Calcutta and a few new enclaves of heavy industry. In the west the picture is quite different, where there are many large cities. In particular, the states of Punjab in the north and Tamil Nadu in the south are examples of comparatively well-structured urban development. On the other hand, the excessively large concentration in and around Bombay where currently about 15 million people live is not well balanced at all, and the municipal infrastructure is on the verge of collapse due to the load it must bear. One fifth of all of the motor vehicles in India squeeze through the streets of this Western metropolis. In light of this extreme congestion, it would certainly make more sense to establish a large industrial center elsewhere--in Punjab, for example--instead of bringing yet more industry into this region.

With regard to the removal of unneeded laborers from the field of agriculture, the large region north of Patna and Benares (Varanasi) would certainly also be an area which warrants high regional development priority. That region encompasses many purely agrarian districts and has a population density of 600 people per square kilometer. Migrant farm workers and poor sharecroppers are pitifully exploited under such conditions. In these areas the "Green Revolution" has had less of an effect than elsewhere. Planners sitting in New Delhi calculating growth rates for the economy as a whole often fail to consider these problem regions, and the regional governments concerned usually lack sufficient planners and funds to take the initiative themselves.



Mahatma Gandhi wanted to build up India beginning with its villages, and Jawaharlal Nehru put his trust in industry hoping to thereby achieve the great breakthrough to general economic growth. There were vehement debates between them as to how the priorities should be ordered. Nehru was right, because after overcoming its colonial status India had a long way to go to catch up in the area of industrialization. But Gandhi was also right, because only when poverty and exploitation are eradicated at the village level is positive and continuing economic development possible. Both Gandhi's and Nehru's approaches to the problem must be further developed at the level of regional development, which is responsible for balancing agriculture against industry. It is to be hoped that under new management India can now take on this task with firm resolve.

12644

CSO: 4620/30

INDIA

RAPPROCHEMENT WITH PAKISTAN URGED

BK241628 Delhi INDIAN EXPRESS in English 13 Apr 85 p 8

[Editorial: "Don't Look Back"]

[Text] If the debate on the grants of the Ministry of External Affairs yielded anything new this year it was primarily the reflection of the Government's welcome new priority to good neighbourliness rather than more distant concerns. While the Prime Minister sounded optimistic about the prospect of a settlement in Sri Lanka, he was far more cautious about relations with Pakistan though he expressed his government's desire for closer and more cordial ties with that country. It is puzzling why Mr Gandhi should have returned to the theme of Pakistan's arms build up just days after the Foreign Secretary, Mr Romesh Bhandari's successful visit to Islamabad and the decision to resume the broken Indo-Pakistan dialogue. The Pakistan Foreign Minister, Mr Meeting of the NAM [Nonaligned Movement] Bureau on Namibia when it is planned to announce the revival of the Indo-Pakistan Joint Commission at ministerial level. Thereafter, it has been agreed that the Pakistan Foreign Secretary, "Mr Niaz Naik, should come to Delhi to continue substantive talks with Mr Bhandari. It is strange too that Mr Gandhi should reassure the Lok Sabha that Mr Bhandari only entered into general discussions with Mr Naik and that there were no talks on the proposed no-war pact and treaty of peace, friendship and cooperation. Why should there be any diffidence about talking peace when the charge is that Pakistan is rearming "feverishly" and that it is moving fast to realise its nuclear ambitions in which it is somehow not being thwarted by the United States?

It must be hoped that the Prime Minister's statement does not imply a return to the negative and unwisely hawkish or stop-go attitude towards the improvement of relations with Pakistan that characterised the policy of Mrs Gandhi's government. It does not do any good to send out conflicting and confused signals about India's perceptions, intentions and strategy as this derogates from the credibility of what one should have thought was the new government's considered policy. It is India's stated wish now to proceed step by step. If so, progress should not be stalled by taking a step back after just having taken a step forward, when the objective situation remains unchanged. If the object of the Prime Minister was only to narrate past history, the occasion was untimely. Having turned down the proposal that the two countries discuss an arms freeze, if not mutual arms reduction, and having then interrupted

belated negotiations on a no-war pact and friendship treaty for reasons that are now admitted to have largely been removed by Pakistan, why return to the earlier barren stance that has paid the country no dividends? If there is cause for worry about Pakistan's nuclear programme, the answer lies in seeking a rapprochement with Islamabad rather than ask the United States to put pressure on Pakistan. That way, there is little prospect of improving relations either with Pakistan or the United States. India must have the will and the vision boldly to pursue the good neighbour policy on which it has embarked.

CSO: 4600/398

IRAN

KHAMENE'I: WE SEEK RELATIONS WITH ALL NATIONS WHO RESPECT US

Tehran SOBH-E AZADEGAN in Persian 12 Feb 85 p 2

[Text] Sunday morning, ambassadors and diplomatic representatives of the world's nations and international organizations in the Islamic Republic of Iran met with our president Hojjat ol-Eslam val Moslemin Ali Khamene'i to congratulate him on the sixth year of the victory of the revolution. In this ceremony, Dr Velayat', minister of foreign affairs, deputies and undersecretaries of the ministry of foreign affairs and a group of officials of the president's office were present. First, Dr Nicholas Stephan, the ambassador of the Socialist Republic of Romania and dean of the diplomatic missions, in a speech congratulated imam Khomeyni, the revolution's leader and the founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran, the president, and the nation of Iran on the anniversary of the victory of the Islamic revolution on behalf of himself and all the diplomatic representatives and international organizations in Iran. He referred to the victory of the Iranian nation in its long fight and its changing history's course and the establishment of the Islamic Republic and said: "We, the diplomatic representatives of our nations, witness with deep satisfaction the stimulating background of Iranian foreign policy based on its principles for the progress of expanded relations with other nations." The Romanian ambassador, speaking as the representative of diplomatic missions and international organizations in our country, in expressing his delight at the expansion of our relations with other nations, thanked the officials of the Islamic Republic of Iran for their cooperation in creating this relationship and said: "In this official session, I want to execute the duty bestowed on me by the heads of the diplomatic representatives and international organizations and extend our best wishes, for the health and success of the eminent imam Khomeyni, leader and founder of the revolution, your excellency and the noble nation of Iran."

In continuation of this ceremony, Hojjat ol-Eslam val-Moslemein Seyyed Ali Khamene'i, the president, expressing mutual thanks, addressed the diplomatic representatives in Iran and said: "These days belong to our nation since in these glorious days the nation of Iran recovered its worthy human personality again, a personality which has been repeatedly humiliated by foreign powers."

The president indicated that during these days, our nation has entered a new birth and a new phase of life and said: "The greatest lesson of the Islamic Republic to people is respect for the human personality of all nations and this is the philosophical basis of our world relations. Our nation seeks relations with all nations that are willing to respect our acquired personality. This

is a question that all the countries and nations, regardless of their religious, philosophical or social differences, are able to apprehend and implement."

The president, at the conclusion of his talk, wished all the Islamic Republic of Iran's guests a good and prosperous mission. Then all the present diplomatic representatives met separately with the president and congratulated him on the sixth anniversary of the victory of the Islamic revolution. At the conclusion of this ceremony, at the request of the diplomatic corps residing in Tehran, a picture was taken with the president as a souvenir.

9815

CSO: 4640/473

IRAN

MUSAVI: NATION CONTROLS ITS DESTINY ON WAR, DOMESTIC, FOREIGN POLICY

Tehran SOBH-E AZADEGAN in Persian 12 Feb 85 p 1

[Text] On February 11, the beginning of the seventh anniversary of the victory of the Islamic revolution Mir Hoseyn Musavi, the prime minister, arrived in Bandar 'Abbas on God's day, to visit Hormozgan Province and see the industrial and development projects and get acquainted with the martyr-nurturing people of Hormozgan Province. He was officially welcomed by the imam's representative and Friday imam of Bandar 'Abbas, the Hormozgan people's representative in the assembly of experts, minister of justice, minister of road and transport, the clerics, commanders of military and disciplinary forces and other officials of the regions. After reviewing the honor guard and getting acquainted with the local officials of Hormozgan Province, the prime minister attended the Jame mosque of the Sunnite people of Bandar 'Abbas and addressed the martyr-nurturing people of this city who had gathered to listen to his speech. He talked at great length about domestic and foreign policy, the gains of the Islamic revolution and the imposed war.

Mr Musavi in his speech noted: "Today is February 11, a day for evaluating our Islamic revolution and reviewing the past, our achievements and the point that we have reached. Today is the day to appreciate and remember those who have given their blood and lives for this resolution, to look at our past situation and our present condition in order to calculate our steps more carefully." Mr Musavi in explaining the 2,500 years of satanic rule in the country said: "This nation has undergone 2,500 years of monarchical suzerainty and 2,500 years of abjectness, humiliation, contempt, trampling of people and induction of an abject culture with a long and painful history. When we go back and study the devastations, sufferings and impediments, we realize that these were not created in one day. Talent was annihilated, the people were crushed under the claws of imperial thugs and tyrants and an abject culture was imposed on our nation. Under such circumstances we can feel the splendour of February 11."

The prime minister referred to the peak of the Pahlavi regime's dependency on foreign powers and said: "During the reign of Pahlavi in addition to that rule, the direct rule of other powers was added too. There was also a direct move to eradicate Islam, since they saw Islam as a fortress resisting against the superpowers."

Then Mr Musavi as an example cited the army condition in the previous regime which was a tool for securing American interests and said: This was not done

very easily and it was planned very carefully. When we look at the previous regime, we see that the Americans and Europeans had a big share of investment in agriculture and industry. We must realize that if the preliminary groundwork was not established, they would not have been able to push Islam back into the corner of homes and accomplish their plots. Therefore, only when America was able to plant 60,000 advisors in our country, were they able to annihilate the resistance forces. The doors of our country were open to them in order for them to use our endless resources and insult our people."

Mr Musavi said: "This revolution not only was important for curtailing American power, but also had the distinct significance that our nation made all the world's nations realize that the superpowers are nothing if a nation resists them. If the nations overcome the fear in their hearts, arms, diplomacy and the media will not be able to affect the general movement of the people. Our nation became alive with this resolution, does not have any fear from America today and this is the message of the revolution."

The prime minister mentioned another example of the previous regime as being a tool through its dispatch of military forces to suppress the oppressed people of Zofar by the annihilated Shah and added: "With the victory of the revolution America's hand was cut off, we expelled them, regained control of our economy and freed ourselves from the yoke of slavery. We announced to the whole world that our nation is not willing to bow in front of any power. We announced that if we reformed and revolted and our nation gave martyrs, it was for us to live free and we wanted to establish the system we wanted even if it was not approved by the world. The revolution proves this matter is possible, therefore the most important message of the Islamic revolution is that if a nation overcomes the fear of superpowers, it will be able to live independently."

Mr Musavi referred to the fact that world arrogance is afraid of the hopefulness of the nations and their implicit hope that they will not be the slaves of east or west and added: "Why is the U.S. afraid of Iran's relations with Latin America and why does it shed crocodile tears for the nation's of the Persian Gulf? Isn't it that the Islamic Republic asked the nations to return to their own culture and to profit from their own resources?"

He added: "We have not said anything except this and have proclaimed peace continuously to the Persian Gulf nations. The prime minister added: "One of our reasons for justifying our revolution against the inwardly blind and superpower supporters is that the revolution's resistance is going on in a critical condition along with the imposed war. We ask those who are representing the superpowers and try to create dissatisfaction: What country could administrate such a massive war for 5 years and keep a revolution which has made all the social structures independent without asking for a dollar from anyone?" The prime minister emphasized: "Today, the nation, Majlis and the clergy are present on the scene. The destiny of the war, and domestic and foreign policies are in the hands of the nation and no one, due to the firmness of the people, dares to show softness."

Mr Musavi in regard to economic issues said: "In the countries that are under the protection of the superpowers and with which we have relations and whose living conditions we have studied, some have 56 percent inflation. Whereas in our country, despite the war situation and the peak of plots and not having retreated one step from our slogans, inflation is 11.9 percent."

Mr Musavi reminded those present of the fact that the ten days of Fajr is the best period for comparison of people's living conditions and said: "If the people are aware and present and if they themselves judge and identify the enemies and are informed about the motives of slogans given against this nation, all these noises, and military and economic plots will be defeated and in the end our revolution will be victorious. God willing, all you decent people who have protected the revolution with your presence, continue your presence in the political, economic and cultural scenes and push forward our revolution."

After the conclusion of his speech, Mr Musavi reviewed the march of the armed units present at the square. Based on this report, the prime minister left Bandar 'Abbas yesterday afternoon for Tehran.

9815

CSO: 4640/473



IRAN

KHAMENE'I: KOMITEHS MUST BE PEOPLE'S HOPE, REFUGE

Tehran SOBH-E AZADEGAN in Persian 13 Feb 85 p 2

[Text] Yesterday afternoon in a ceremony commemorating the sixth anniversary of the formation of the Islamic Revolution komitehs, Hojjat ol-Eslam val-Moslemin Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i, the president and chief of the Supreme Defense Council said: The Islamic Revolution komitehs are astounding phenomena which are indicators of the Islamic revolution's dimension. The chief of the Supreme Defense Council emphasized to the members of the Islamic Revolution komitehs coordination with other revolutionary forces and institutions and asked them to try to solidify the revolution's fundamental elements in the komitehs.

The ceremony was held at the martyr Shirudi Stadium, and was attended by Nateqnuri, the minister of interior, Col Sohrabi, the army chief of staff, air force and navy commanders, a group of Majlis representatives, some members of Tehran's Islamic Revolution komitehs, commanders and komiteh officials from across the country, a group of Komiteh martyrs' families and also several foreign guests for the Ten Days of Dawn. Following the recitation of some verses from the glorious Koran and the playing of several anthems by Tehran's Islamic Revolution komiteh bands, Hojjat ol-Eslam Salek, acting head of the Islamic Revolution komitehs, gave a short speech summarizing the history of the formation of the komitehs, and said: At the present time, the Islamic Revolution komitehs have various duties and missions, struggling against the counterrevolution, close cooperation with the Ministry of Information, fighting against smuggling and prohibited things. At this time, it is also the responsibility of the Islamic Revolution komitehs to protect more than 400 kilometers of our eastern borders. Now the charter of the Islamic Revolution komitehs has been drawn up and is being examined in the Majlis Interior Affairs Committee. We hope that it will be approved in the next year sessions of the Majlis.

Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i, president and chief of the Supreme Defense Council, while pointing to the role of the komitehs in advancing the revolution said: It is a source of pride to us that six years following the victory of the revolution we observe you dear ones, meaning the Islamic Revolution komitehs, proudly serving and toiling in the cities, on the roads and on the war fronts with a determined energy. In reality the Islamic Revolution komitehs are astounding phenomena of which we can say: It is an indicator of the dimension of the Islamic revolution, the fundamental and constructive dimension of our revolution. The very thing in which we take pride when confronting the world's nations and about which we shout our slogans has become solidified and crystallized in something called the komiteh.

Hojjat ol-Eslam val-Moslemin Khamene'i then summarized the history of the komiteh which was formed on 12 February 1979 and the roles of the mosques and said: The imam had ordered that the people from each district assemble in the local mosques. A command had not officially been given yet, but the komiteh had been formed, meaning a categorization that was one hundred percent popular, based on the mosque, a compound of God and the people, order, jihad, public self-sufficiency and awareness. These things formed the komitehs, and our komitehs began with the Islam from the very start. Many become furious over the mosque being the place for settling affairs. However, from the day that the various strata of the people assembled in the mosques, the essence of the situation changed and the country's first constructive step and the first movement towards a cultural system began from the komitehs.

Khamene'i then pointed to the popular nature of the Islamic Revolution komitehs. Concerning the unprecedented assembly of Tehran's people in Freedom Square, he said: After the passage of six years, what did this great assembly mean? The counterrevolution had prepared itself to see that 11 February was not going to be welcomed by the people. Even some confused, narrow-minded, and stuffy groups out of touch with the people and not understanding the revolution, the undiscerning individuals who had many times proved their ingratitude to this revolution, were hoping to take advantage of the people's indifference to the revolution. However, we saw what a marvelous answer the people gave to the instruments of world arrogance. They all watched with astonished eyes, envy and anger. This was at a time when neither the imam nor any official had spoken concerning the people's participation in the ceremony, and only the Islamic Propaganda Coordination Council had announced the ceremony. And yesterday when I looked out over this seething sea, this grand assembly, I felt humble in front of this greatness. Truly, only one law exists and that historical and natural law is the one of human triumph over all the forces and tools that stand against him. Victory accompanies the will of human beings. Of course some will be killed, but they will be victorious. We say to the Muslim nations that some of the region's politicians who want help from Reagan regarding the Middle East are making a mistake. From our point of view the world's powers created the bitter experience and the tree of discord of Israel. We believe that the solution to the problems of the Middle East and Israel lies only in the hands of the relevant nations, and we will be the forerunner and vanguard of these nations in the struggle against Israel.

Then, Khamene'i pointing to some Muslim countries' politicians who pretend to be Muslims and said: Don't you imagine that those who do not accept the revolution and the Islamic Republic will clearly say that they do not accept Islam at all. Even in some countries where the leaders have not gotten wind of Islam they make a claim to Islam--due to the victory of the Islamic revolution--and even some of the thugs in North Africa claim to have established an Islamic regime. And this is the atmosphere that the Islamic Republic of Iran has created.

The president then asked the members of the Islamic Revolution komitehs to keep the revolution's fundamental lines in the komitehs and stressed: The komiteh must be popular, the komiteh must be the people's hope and refuge, the people must feel affection for the komiteh, and the members of the Islamic Revolution komiteh must maintain this affection.

Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i then pointed to the role of the komitehs on the war fronts and expressed his appreciation to the families of Islamic Revolution komiteh martyrs. He advised members of the Islamic Revolution komitehs to coordinate their work with the forces of the guards and gendarmerie.

The chief of the Supreme Defense Council also pointed to the examination of the Islamic Revolution komiteh charter in the Majlis and said: It is not important how large the jurisdiction of work is, what is important is the quality of work accomplished. According to this report the ceremony ended with a combat operation display by members of the Islamic Revolution komitehs.

9597

CSO: 4640/474

IRAN

## TWELVE WORK AREAS OPEN TO AFGHAN IMMIGRANTS

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 10 Apr 85 p 18

[Interview with Deputy for Employment Affairs of the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs Tayarani by members of press, radio and television; date and place not specified]

[Text] That group of Afghans residing in Iran who have received identification cards from the Ministry of the Interior are granted permission to engage in employment in 12 areas and will be subject to the labor law.

Tayarani, the deputy for employment affairs of the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, announced the above statement in a press, radio and television interview and in connection with the reasons for this decision, he explained the situation with regard to the entry of the Afghan brothers into Iran and the steps taken by the concerned organizations to offer services to them and said: The issue of concern to the Ministry of Labor was identifying jobs for them, taking into consideration the employment priorities and policies.

Explaining the 12 work areas decided upon, he said: These areas consist of work in the brick kilns; activities related to urban construction; loading and unloading; work in mines; (salambur) manufacturing; farming and agriculture, except in Tehran Province; animal husbandry and poultry farms; glass manufacturing; small plastic melting companies; road and canal building; plaster and lime kilns; and leather manufacturing.

Tayarani emphasized that none of the Afghan immigrants may personally apply for temporary employment cards, which must be done through the concerned employer, and said: Provided there is no sufficient Iranian manpower in the areas announced, employers may hire Afghan immigrants who have identification cards in accordance with the determined percentages with a request from the labor offices. In the provinces, the employers must announce their manpower needs through the labor offices and the mass

media. If after two weeks there are insufficient numbers of Iranian applicants in the work area mentioned, temporary employment cards will be issued with the coordination of the council for Afghan immigrant affairs and under the supervision of the labor offices upon request. Henceforth, those workers will be subject to the labor law.

The deputy for employment affairs of the Ministry of Labor continued: If in a province there are labor needs in areas other than those announced and there are no Iranian applicants or, in certain cases, there are more than the determined 40 percent level, the committees in the provinces will study the issue and take steps in this regard.

He said: The employment cards are valid for one year only and employers are responsible for informing the labor offices 15 days before the expiration of the permits if they are to be renewed. Also, employment cards are issued for specific persons to work for specific employers. If the contract between an employer and an Afghan worker is nullified for any reason, the employer is responsible for informing the nearest labor and social affairs unit of his leaving employment. Otherwise, he will be subject to prosecution. In order to implement this plan well, the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs and the central offices of labor and social affairs of the provinces will periodically send labor inspectors to the units. Should any foreigner, whether Afghan or non-Afghan, be employed in a unit without a permit, the employer and the person responsible for the unit will be dealt with in accordance with the regulations of Article 59 of the labor law and the related notes.

#### Not Employing Afghans in Restaurants

He was asked about restricting the employment of Afghans in places which handle people's food.

He said: Last summer, according to information sent by the regional Health Departments and the central offices of labor and social affairs, it was observed that in places where food is prepared and served, Afghans are employed who have neither work permits nor health permits for their specific work from the Health Department.

For this reason, in a circular letter, all labor and social affairs offices were instructed to deal with the employment of Afghans who have no permit or health card in units which engage in the preparation, cooking, or serving of food. Our brothers in the central offices, in coordination with the Offices of the Governors General and Governors, worked in this area and in certain cases, some of the units were shut down in order to prevent the spread of disease. This plan is being followed up and continues in many provinces.

IRAN

# RESULTS OF ECONOMIC NEGOTIATIONS WITH USSR ANNOUNCED

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 7 Apr 85 p 1

[Text] Political service. The deputy for international and economic affairs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of our country, who is visiting the USSR at the head of a political and economic delegation, met and spoke yesterday with the minister of economic cooperation [as published] of that country about expanding economic and trade relations.

In this meeting, both sides studied the existing economic cooperation and expressed their interest in expanding this cooperation as well as trade relations. They also examined the possibility for continuation of such cooperation and for starting new projects in various areas, including metal smelting, energy, dam building on the border rivers, mines in the Islamic Republic of Iran, the expansion of the communication network, particularly the roads between the two countries, the creation of shipping in the Caspian Sea, agriculture, fish hatcheries and fishing in the joint waters and waters inside the Islamic Republic of Iran, and making use of the water resources. In this connection, it was decided that after the projects of interest to both countries are studied in a preliminary joint meeting in late May of this year in Moscow, the results will be finalized in an agreement, after a short period, in the main joint committee meeting at the ministerial level.

Also, the possibility for cooperation between the two countries in other areas, including oil and natural gas, was discussed in this meeting and the Soviet Union announced its readiness to cooperate in building the Tehran subway. It was decided that this proposal would be studied by the concerned organizations of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

It should be pointed out that at the present time, 100 joint projects are in operation, being built with the cooperation of the Soviet Union, and cooperation continues to complete the

incomplete projects, including the Ramin and Esfahan power plants.

It should be mentioned that the trade delegation that traveled to Moscow accompanied by Kazempur-Ardabili, the deputy for international and economic affairs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, returned to Tehran last night.

10,000

CSO: 4640/523

IRAN

BANK MARKAZI BALANCE SHEET APPROVED FOR MAR 83-MAR 84

Tehran SOBH-E AZADEGAN in Persian 12 Feb 85 p 2

[Text] The twenty-fourth session of the general annual meeting of Bank-e Markazi of the Islamic Republic of Iran was held at the bank and chaired by Dr Hosseyn Namazi, minister of economic and financial affairs. Other participants were Dr Banki, minister of state and chief of the plan and budget organization, Dr Nurbakhsh, director general of Bank-e Markazi, the supervisory board, the supervisory board for currency deposits, and members of the money and credit council. The session was held to examine the balance sheet of Bank-e Markazi of the Islamic Republic of Iran for the year March 1983-March 1984. At the beginning of the session the director general of Bank-e Markazi gave a summary report of the country's economic events during March 1983-March 1984. The report said that during March 1983-March 1984, despite the continuation of the imposed war and its concomitant problems, the general level of economic activities took an upturn and that this upswing was relatively more rapid in the industrial and construction sectors. Activity in the petroleum sector also preserved the relatively high level of the previous year, but in the agricultural sector fundamental problems still continued to exist and the production of many major items dropped drastically. During this year despite an increase in the government's budget deficit, the primary expansionary effects of the government sector's operations decreased and brought about a reduction in the growth rate of cash in the private sector. On the other hand, with the increase in the country's foreign currency resources, the import of goods showed an extraordinary growth and accompanied by an increase in industrial production increased the overall supply. On the whole, during the year that is the subject of this report, there was a limited reduction of the sharp increase in prices and the rate of growth in the price index for goods, consumer services and wholesale prices were less than that of the previous year.

In continuation of the report's summary of the country's economic events during 1983-1984, it was stated that one of the most important of the country's economic events during the year was the final approval of the interest-free bankig law, according to which a new banking system has been founded.

Another section of the report said that during 1983-1984, activities in the petroleum sector continued at the level of the previous year and the country's crude oil production averaged about 2.7 million barrels a day, which is slightly more than 0.6 percent above the production level for the previous year.



However, the export of the country's petroleum, both crude oil and other petroleum by-products, had a relatively rapid growth, and with a 3.3 percent increase it reached an average of 2.1 million barrels a day. On this basis the government's income from petroleum exports amounted to 1,779.4 billion rials. This was accompanied by 789.6 billion rials from taxes and 197.5 billion rials from other income sources. The grand total of the government's income increased by 10.6 percent over that of the previous year. Another section of the report said that in the year 1983-1984, with the relative reduction in the cash growth rate on the one hand and the increase in general supply on the other, the sharp rise in price index was reduced. Thus according to existing statistics, the growth level of price index for goods and consumer services declined from 19.2 percent during the year 1982-1983 to 17.7 percent in the 1983-1984 year. During these two years the rate of growth in the wholesale price index also declined from 13.7 percent to 12.5 percent.

Following the summary report of the economic events of the year 1983-1984, the bank's supervisory board presented a report concerning the profit and loss operations for the balance sheet for the bank during the year 1983-1984 and the aforementioned balance sheet was then unanimously approved by the participants in the general meeting.

9597

CSO: 4640/474

IRAN

# GOVERNMENT URGED TO PROVIDE FOREIGN CURRENCY FOR BASIC INDUSTRIES

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 5 Mar 85 p 23

[Text] Qazvin--Tehran reporter--The immense growth of cities and the migration of rural population is one of the important problems and if we do not pay profound and fundamental attention in solving this problem, it will threaten the revolution.

After his visit to a meter and a cable factory in the industrial city of Qazvin, Hazem Zaii, deputy director to the energy, post and telegraph committee of the Islamic Majlis talked to our reporter and stated: "The differences between urban and rural income and the differences in conveniences like electricity, water, and telephone has caused immense expansion of the cities. The success of the Islamic republic in providing electricity for rural areas has been noteworthy but in other areas we have been unsuccessful. Due to this reason, the migration of rural people to cities has not been stopped."

He referred to the need for establishing the Martyr Rajaii steam power plant of the Qazvin region and said: "The industrial city of Qazvin and its region consumes over 2000 megawatts of electricity. Therefore we are obliged to establish the Martyr Rajaii 2000 megawatt power plant in the Qazvin region and we anticipate that the Majlis will be able to provide the necessary funds for this power plant."

In explaining the various systems of the steam power plant, he expressed hope that with the operation of Bushehr nuclear plant the country's nuclear energy will be expanded. In regard to the future projects of the energy committee for alleviating water and electricity shortages he said: "Even though water is the axis of agriculture, the energy committee plans to introduce a project to the Majlis in order to be able to consolidate the water problems of the country. In regard to electricity, which is a nurturing industry and whose growth affects all economic projects, we hope to be able to alleviate its shortage in order for other economic sectors to grow harmoniously."

In regard to his visit to the meter and cable factories he said: "The mentioned factories deliver their meter and cable products to the ministry of energy. Due to the ministry's internal financial problems, they have

not been able to reimburse the debts of these factories when due. As a result, these two factories always have rial shortages. We have to make plans for the regional power companies to pay their debts to these factories so they can operate at full capacity without endangering the country's production.

"The other problem is foreign currency. In regard to specialization and labor force, 100 percent is supplied from within Iran but 100 percent of raw materials are provided from abroad. Also most of the cable factory's raw materials must be provided from outside. To provide these materials, we need foreign currency. The government must provide the needed foreign currency for the fundamental industries of the country, otherwise the ministry of energy, in order to expand its electricity network, must import cable, meters and other needed materials from outside." He added: "Housing for the workers of these two factories which produce 90 percent of the needed cable and 100 percent of needed meters is also necessary and must be provided."

9815

CSO: 4640/485

IRAN

#### ARTICLE EXAMINES TRANSFER OF SMALL INDUSTRIES TO WORKERS

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 6 Mar 85 pp 17, 19

[Text] Last week's nationwide small industry worker's congress dealing with the transfer of small industries shares to the workers and people was met with great enthusiasm and success.

Holding such a congress definitely helps rotate the wheels of industries and leads to a basic solution for the policy of transferring small industries to the workers, but the problems do not end here. Therefore, to proceed with the policy and the support of hardworking Muslim workers in all phases of policy making whether preparing work regulations in the context of the laws or supervisory participation in the precise implementation of the sanctioned laws is very important. In fact, under present conditions what is important and needs effort in making laws universal is accuracy in compiling and writing the transfer regulations. The experience of transferring ownership of industries and production plants is a new policy without any precedent within our cultural context. Therefore the success, or God forbid, the failure in this regard will definitely not be limited to our country's industries geographical boundaries but will have a deeper effect from both a domestic economic and international point of view.

Now we are assured that as a general rule, the ownership of government small industries belongs to the workers and from a ideological viewpoint, many reputable constituents agree with both the idea and implementation, and the danger from didactics and temporizers has apparently stopped and no opposition can be heard from them. Therefore we must take our future steps with a cautious and favorable attitude. Elements and circumstances still exist that have remained silent toward the policy of transfer of small industries to workers. Therefore undoubtedly the very same people who according to some words support absolute rule in special sectors of industry are looking for the first sign of inadequacy and difficulty in the industrial sector for an opportunity to propagandize and spread the legitimacy of their views as fast as possible.

1) Clearly the discussion is about the transfer of small and medium sized industries to the workers and people and large and strategic industries will remain under government control as usual.

2) In regard to the transfer of the small and medium industries in the first place we must consider that these industries have passed the break even point in production. Hereafter we can take action to transfer them with complete confidence for their future. I emphasize that we must have complete confidence in the profitability of the mentioned industries before they are transferred and even during their profitability these industries will be operated by the government not only without loss but they will somehow be profitable. In the case of industries which are operating at a breakeven point and are not able to cover their expenses, the transfer must depend on the profitability of these industries. Therefore, all the employees and workers of the mentioned industries will use all their efforts to increase the quality and quantity of products which eventually will lead to the increase of the industry's income in order to meet the basic qualification of the transfer. Increasing productivity and decreasing the need for foreign currency must also be considered as other priority qualifications in the transfer of industry to the workers. Any sector of industry which needs less foreign currency is more independent and naturally, modernization technology and initiative have been followed more extensively; therefore one could act in regard to these industries with more confidence.

3) Providing needed capital for the workers is another question. The wage level of the workers and their usually large households makes the savings of these groups (in cases where savings exist) insignificant. Therefore it is necessary to consider precise arrangements in order to provide the capital investment for workers.

4) From a priority point of view for the transfer of shares, the most essential method is to consider the individual's relation to the industries. This means that in the first place, priority must be given to those employees and workers who have direct and close relations with the mentioned industry and then to those who have indirect contact with the industries. It is evident for example that the farmers come after the employees and workers in the food industries. If more shares remain in the end, they must be transferred to the people by public subscription provided that no special favors be considered for anyone's subscription and the used investment meets article 49 of the constitution.

5) After the victory of the Islamic revolution, one of the problems facing the industries was the lack of harmony between management and the workers. Implementation of the policy of transfer of small industries to workers and employees is an effective step towards creating unity between management and workers. Although the 'Laws of the Islamic Workers Council' could be used as a guide in this direction, from the view of industrial administration and organizational management the necessary requirements must exist before hand.

6) In cases where the industries belong to the government, buying and selling shares is naturally pointless but when the private sector starts buying and selling shares it is possible that some problems will occur.

Therefore, it is necessary that the rules and the manner of purchase and sale of shares be prepared in such a manner to prevent the possibilities of stock exchange of these shares and eliminate the grounds for business. Carelessness and negligence in this regard will lead to destructive competition between the industries and eventually will endanger the policy of transfer of industries seriously affecting quantity and quality improvement of the industries. In conditions where the possibilities for irregular transaction of industry shares exist, capital resources will be diverted from productive spheres and attracted to dealing and trade activities.

7) While the private sector is obliged to coordinate its policies with government policies in the transfer of productive industries to the workers and people and Islamic government also has duties to these kinds of industries. In other words, these industries must not be deprived of government support merely due to their transfer to the private sector.

Government support of the mentioned industries in relation to the larger investment of the private sector is essential. The private sector with its immense capital is able to bring small industries to the verge of stagnacy and bankruptcy. Immense production which leads to lower production costs will increase the power of immense capital investment competition to the detriment of small and medium capital investment. Therefore, the government, through the enactment and decisive execution of the laws must support the production capacity of small and medium industries.

Foreign products can also endanger domestic products. Since foreign products are of better quality, pricewise they can compete with domestic products. Therefore in case of certain imports, domestic small and medium industries will lose the power to compete with foreign industries. Therefore it is the duty of the Islamic government through compiling suitable import policies to promote healthy and constructive competition and use its efforts to protect domestic production.

Finally the government is able through pricing and taxation to encourage and guide capital investment towards different sectors and be useful in the transformation of production lines towards desired production.

Organizing seminars and congresses is one of the necessary steps towards starting the movement, but it is not enough. Under the present condition, the active presence and participation of the workers and trustworthy clear sighted persons in compiling the laws and transfer of the industries are among the questions which are emphatically the viewpoint of Muslim and oppressed workers of the nation.

9815  
CSO: 4640/484

IRAN

# BANK OFFICIAL CLAIMS INCREASE IN DEPOSITS CAUSE OF INFLATION DROP

Tehran SOBH-E AZADEGAN in Persian 30 Mar 85 p 2

[Text] Mr Nurbakhsh, Director of the Central Bank, commented on various economic issues connected with the country's banking system.

He said: In the course of an administrative year for the country's new banking system, most of its work has been a success, and deposits, showing a noticeable increase over the past, have exceeded 5.6 billion rials. With increased deposits and control over the money in circulation, inflation has decreased relative to last year.

Before the implementation of this law, and actually before the implementation of the revolution, we were constantly up against sharp increases in the amount of currency in circulation, which is really one of the potent factors in the increase of prices and inflation. While the growth of cash in circulation was more than 15 percent in previous years, in the first 10 months of the year 1363 [21 March 1984 - 20 January 1985] the growth of cash in circulation was held to 2.6 percent. The amount of currency and coinage in the hands of individuals, which was around 1,900 billion at the end of the month of Esfand in 1362 [20 March 1984], had reached 1,840 billion rials in Dey of 1363 [22 December 1984 - 20 January 1985]. All of these have been influential factors for our bringing the level of inflation down to 10.4 percent in the first eleven months of the year 1363 [21 March 1984 - 20 Jan 1985]. This decline in the rate of inflation is still continuing, and we hope that it will be maintained in the year 1364 [21 March 1985 - 20 March 1986]. With regard to deposits, Mr Nurbakhsh said: The people's acceptance of interest-free loans as well as of investment deposits has been very good. With regard to interest-free loans, just as has been announced in various bank bulletins, on the average one person in ten has received a bank premium of some kind; of course these premiums are worth far less than the spiritual reward for placing these resources at the disposal of the banking system so that it can use them to meet the very urgent needs of the people.

With regard to investment deposits, I can also announce that our preliminary estimates show that the earnings of investment deposits will be greater than what was paid under the old system, and this will be good news for people who have invested in the new system, and I hope that it will be influential in encouraging the people and protecting this new law.

The Director of the Central Bank discussed investments by banks. He said: Particularly in the industrial sector, we have a very clear and organized program. The volume of bank investments in industry, on the basis of preliminary estimates, will be between 200 and 300 billion rials in a 5-year period. Very clear projects have been designed by the Bank of Mines and Industry in various

industrial areas, from the procurement of livestock feed to matters pertaining to casting, motor manufacture, and so forth. Other banks will collaborate with the Bank of Mines and Industry in this area.

He added: The primary role in agricultural matters is being played by the Bank of Agriculture, in addition to the province banks in various provinces. Likewise, in the area of housing, we also have various home and apartment construction projects in the different provinces, which will be implemented by the various banks, chiefly in cooperation with the Housing Bank. One of our primary goals is to increase the amount of investment in the production fields, and we have prepared a specific program for this and presented it to the Council of Ministers. The Council of Ministers is now studying it in order to present it to the Majlis. While this study is in progress, preliminary tasks have been carried out; these investments have not been arrested, they are being made, and we hope that the banks will be able to continue their activities and investments in various production and investment spheres, and in an area that will help the country's economy, utilizing these resources the people have placed at their disposal. In any case, our assessment of the implementation of this law is that it has been very successful, and, as the statistics show, bank deposits have been large, and the amount of currency in the hands of the people has decreased. This shows the people's acceptance of this system.

The results of the system's application have also been positive, and results obtained show that the banks can give a positive and good answer to the people's acceptance.

Mr Nurbakhsh commented on the increase in foreign exchange reserves obtained from non-petroleum exports. He said: The matter of non-petroleum exports and the expansion of these exports is one of the important goals of the government of the Islamic republic; various meetings dealing with this have been held, attended by the Prime Minister, the Minister of Commerce, and other ministers, insiders, and banking officials. He discussed the incentives used to increase exports, and the special preferential prices the Central Bank gives in the conversion of foreign exchange obtained for non-petroleum exports. He said: This program has been operative for several months. Fortunately, the figures for nine months of exports show that this policy has also been effective; the volume in weight of our non-petroleum exports has increased by around 76,000 tons in this period, reaching 176,000 tons. Exports of metal ores have shown an especially striking growth, tripling to reach about 30 million dollars. In the export of carpets, we are also in the preliminary stages, and these incentives have been able to protect the market to some extent.

Carpet exports in the first nine months of 1363 [21 March – 22 December 1984] amounted to around 61 million dollars, while other exports of traditional goods such as skins and leather also increased about 50 percent. God willing, these new policies will be effective in protecting markets. Of course, along with these methods, other basic steps must also be taken, especially in the areas of packaging and market research.

In this area some of the banks have cooperated with regard to exports, providing effective assistance. The banks are prepared to help, both with extending the necessary credit to exporters and with investing in these fields, in order to maintain the necessary growth of our non-petroleum exports. Mr Nurbakhsh also discussed the sale of gold coins to applicants and Labor Day medallions. He said: It is the policy of the Central Bank, at appropriate intervals and in view of the people's needs and their acceptance, to make gold coins available to them, and this policy will continue in 1364 [21 March 1985 – 20 March 1986]. We have decided to make these coins available to the people before the holiday and on the eve of the holiday, but in view of the government's decision to give a holiday to government workers and management, which includes a large number of people who may require 2.5 million medallions, in view of minting resources and



priorities for workers, laborers and managers, in the first stage of distribution of the medallions priority will be given to this group. In 1364 [21 March 1985 - 20 March 1986], when distribution of coins to workers and managers is completed, we will resume the previous program. God willing, we will make gold coins available to the people at a suitable opportunity. He added that holiday medallions for workers and managers are now being distributed by the banks, and organizations must send the names of their employees as soon as possible. At the conclusion of his interview, he discussed procedures which have arisen for the people regarding the two kinds of thousand-rial notes. He noted that both kinds of notes are printed and distributed by the Central Bank and have the same value. The removal of the name "Dome of the Rock" from the back of the thousand-rial note was done because the best name for this place is "The Sacred Mosque," and, in order to cooperate with Muslim brothers elsewhere, it was decided that only the mosque's picture would be printed.

9310

CSO: 4640/526

IRAN

## EDITORIAL SUGGESTS VIGILANCE OVER BUDGET, ECONOMY

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 9 Apr 85 p 18

[Text] As social life becomes increasingly complicated and government, regulations, and management become necessary for real advancement in social affairs, planning in economic affairs has acquired great importance. World capitalism, having survived numerous deadly crises, has realized that economic affairs cannot be left as they are with the expectation that they will level off under the influence of various conflicting factors. In other words, they have realized that the "unseen hand," which was promoted and discussed until recently by classical economists, cannot give results that measure up to expectations in economic matters.

It was on the basis of this belief that these very systems which promoted the "free market" and "free competition" concluded some time ago that even these conditions do not occur spontaneously. There must at least be enough intervention in affairs to bring about the conditions that allow "free competition."

Today, in the countries which are themselves the models for capitalism in the world, America, the European countries, and Japan, the volume and level of government intervention, despite the slogan "non-intervention by the government in economic affairs," has grown increasingly since the 1930s.

In the Third World, due to the disintegration of various economic sectors and great fissures on various social and economic planes, one cannot expect suitable and desirable results from the "free market." In other words, in these countries, because of the nature and construction of their economies, the "free competition market" has a more limited capability of organizing and responding to affairs.

Secondly, in view of their obvious and hidden dependencies on the markets of the world, and the fact that the slightest vacillation at this level has devastating effects on the domestic economy, guidance and precise and continuous supervision by government planning organizations has special importance for maintaining economic stability.

Thirdly, in growing countries, the preparation and procurement of capital resources is more complex and delicate. In the beginning stages of expansion, because giving priority to capital investment for basic projects and programs has numerous beneficial byproducts, the market system cannot provide the necessary policy coordination. It is therefore totally unacceptable and a grave mistake to deal passively with economic affairs and policy.

Apart from the joint responsibility of the three powers (the Majlis, the Council of Ministers, and the judicial powers) and the economic organizations and institutions in achieving this goal, supervision and continuous follow-up is expected from the Plan and Budget Organization. In other words, conditions must be brought about so that the Plan and Budget Organization will assume responsibility in its position as the core of the country's economy.

There are at least two views concerning how the Plan and Budget Organization should intervene in the country's economic affairs. One view holds that this organization must concern itself only with procuring the credit needed by the ministries and government organizations, and it should allocate the necessary credit to them with no restrictions as soon as their needs are announced. According to this view, the Plan and Budget Organization will be used solely to govern the treasury used to meet budgetary needs. Naturally, looking at it this way, supervision and guidance of economic affairs will not be comprehensive and the Plan and Budget Organization will in practice play a passive and ancillary role.

The other view believes in the necessity of the Plan and Budget Organization's control of economic affairs. Just as the Majlis, in light of resources, establishes a framework for the work of the executive power, and has power of supervision and review in terms of these enactments, the Plan and Budget Organization pursues specific goals in the allocation of credit, and the degree of progress made toward state goals could be the basis for the allocation of additional credit and financial assistance.

This organization, as it collaborates with all concerned ministries and organizations as the keeper of the treasurer, cannot and must not be the least bit negligent or weak in assigning credit. Just as the Majlis challenges the executive power when necessary, there is no problem if the Plan and Budget Organization does the same in similar situations with all organizations which in some way benefit from enacted credit. In other words, it is expected of this organization that it be the first authority to give an appropriate response to the economic accomplishments of the various organizations, even before questions or criticism are raised by the Majlis or its respected deputies.

The idea of delegating the responsibility of organizing the "national budget" as a lever for guiding society's economic affairs in the hands of the above organization is evidently based on the above point of view. Despite the paucity of statistics and figures usually considered in the national budget and credit allocations for the various government organizations, the way credit is allocated is very important. A passing glance at the Plan and Budget Organization's reports and even the National Statistics Annual brings us to the bitter realization that many of the plans and projects that should have been being utilized and giving returns years ago are still unfinished or defective. A precise assessment and compilation of the causes for the slowness of work and the lack of progress of projects according to schedule is an absolute necessity. If this assessment and review actually takes place, we will also discover internal difficulties. Naturally, after the triumph of the Islamic revolution, natural conditions did not exist, but this must not prevent real and realistic encounters with the issues.

The manner in which development credit is allocated is also an issue which must be considered. Desirable and fruitful credit allocations are those that really cause the "physical progress" of plans and projects, and only such projects are deserving of further credit allocations. Making the allocation of each phase of credit and financial assistance subject to the amount of physical progress of projects and plans will prevent the waste of capital resources and the desirable allocation of resources. In the new year, by tightening our belts and creating the necessary conditions, we must make maximum use of every allocated budget rial. It is this kind of situation that will make the year 1364 [21 March 1985 - 20 March 1986] a year of steadfastness, and a year of victory in economic affairs.

IRAN

DRY FARMING PROJECTS DOUBLE WHEAT PRODUCTION

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 13 Apr 85 p 18

[Text] The necessity for procuring and increasing the production of foodstuffs for human beings and animals has been clear, and in this area increasing the production of wheat and feed has been especially important in our country, although the shortage of water has always been a basic agricultural problem in Iran. Yet the abundant availability of land and the help of climactic conditions make it easier to expand cultivation and produce the above crops through dry farming. Unfortunately, however, in the past poor management and unrealistic agricultural methods have prevented the necessary utilization of the above resources.

Engineer Firuz Vahedi, supervisor of the National Dry Farming Office, gave an exclusive interview to KEYHAN's economic correspondent in which he discussed this office's method of operation, accomplishments, and manner of making policies. He began by saying: After the triumph of the revolution, the Ministry of Agriculture took steps to reach self-sufficiency in wheat production, among which was a project to expand dry farming. In view of the vast lands available for dry farming in suitable parts of our country, in the years 1360 [21 March 1981 - 20 March 1982] and 1361 [21 March 1982 - 20 March 1983] projects were carried out to improve dry farming in the provinces of East and West Azarbaijan and Bakhteran, and the results were so striking that the average increase in wheat production was from 600 kilograms to 1,000 or 1,200 kilograms per hectare.

Vahedi added: Our country has vast lands available for dry farming, estimated at 11 to 12 million hectares, half of which are cultivated each year and half of which lie fallow. Since the lands that were cultivated have been unsuitable and unproductive, in its long-term planning the Ministry of Agriculture considers it desirable to convert unproductive lands to pasture.

He said: We now have four million hectares of dry-farming land. Using the experiences of researchers and experts in the Ministry of Agriculture and with the cooperation of the Grain Development and Agricultural Expansion Institute and the rural service centers, last year (1362 [21 March 1983 - 20 March 1984]) the national dry farming improvement project was experimentally implemented on 30,000 hectares of land in 15 provinces. He added: Wheat is an important food item which our country needs. It is also very difficult to obtain wheat from foreign sources in view of the amount of port time required, the resources needed to store and transport it, and the amounts of loss, preparation, spare parts, and credit consumed in order to deliver wheat from the ports to remote parts of the country. On the other hand, because a large share of agricultural lands have been allocated for other purposes such as housing, industry, and so forth, wheat production has declined.

Vahedi added: In view of the use of agricultural lands for the above purposes, and since we have not yet made decisions on the large land holdings of the landowners and feudalists to establish their status, and since they have in some cases been parceled out to small farmers who have not been inclined to invest because of the small size of the plots and the indeterminate status of their ownership, these lands have produced little. In most villages there is an average of one to seven hectares of irrigated land for every six to seven hectares of dry-farming land, but unfortunately these lands are divided. In most Iranian villages about eight hectares of land are divided into 10 to 80 plots. In the science of agriculture, we see production as dependent on four factors, capital, management, water and land, and the centralization and continuity of land, which is a very effective factor in facilitating the use of machinery and reducing the costs of production. If the growth of agriculture is not increasing, the reason is the lack of concern for investment in this area in the public and private sectors. In order to avoid and prevent increases in wheat imports, this year the Ministry of Agriculture has launched a crash program to improve dry farming in six suitable provinces on 1.4 million hectares of land, using the experiences gained from basic research and applications. This project has three stages of implementation. The first is cleaning the grain and protecting it from smut. Fortunately, with the formation of 7,100 teams in six provinces, 77,000 tons of grain have been cleaned using 375 tons of pesticides in the area within the project's purview. The next stage is chemical warfare against weeds and preserving moisture in the soil in five percent of the area covered; this will be done between the end of Esfand and the end of Ordibehesht [20 February - 21 May 1985].

In conclusion he said: In general dry farming is not a formula to which we can apply the results and activities of other countries: it needs extensive research in soil, seed procurement, and the use of machinery. We must avoid ploughing lands with more than a ten-degree slope, and plow vertically on lands with less than a ten-degree slope. Ploughs used for dry farming are completely different than those used for irrigated farming.

9310

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IRAN

TEHRAN ARABIC NOTES MURPHY'S VISIT TO BAGHDAD

GF211855 Tehran International Service in Arabic 1730 GMT 21 Apr 85

[From the "Behind the News" program]

[Excerpts] Like all his previous visits to Baghdad, Murphy's visit yesterday was surprisingly fast. It was not announced in the agenda of his current tour of a number of Middle East capitals. If Murphy's current tour is related to what is called the Middle East crisis, undoubtedly his visit to Baghdad is related to the developments of the Islam-Ba'th war and the current situation of the ruling regime in Iraq.

Many U.S. officials, including President Reagan, have been emphasizing that the downfall of the ruling regime in Iraq will be a direct threat to U.S. interests in the region. That is why Washington is concerned with the survival of this regime. In addition to the resumption of diplomatic relations and the development of political relations, economic and military relations also progressed to the extent that some U.S. weapons were exported to the ruling regime in Iraq, in addition to the trade relations which included extending loans and facilities to purchase some U.S. agricultural and industrial products.

This multisided development was based on the U.S. concept of an alternative which can offset some of the loss of the shah's buried regime. This alternative can be exploited on two levels: The Gulf level and the level of the Middle East crisis and the progress of political axes in this direction.

In the Gulf region, the Baghdad regime practically proved that it can be the obedient gendarme after the buried shah, particularly since it began its aggression against the young Islamic Republic of Iran and it joined unannounced regional alliances with sides whose trends are known.

As for the Middle East crisis, although it retreated from the first priority of the U.S. policy, yet the Baghdad regime has joined other bargaining regimes and its alliance with Cairo, Amman, and the 'Arafat line is considered of great importance to the U.S. administration. Therefore, the U.S. concern with the presence of the regime ruling in Iraq is because of this situation which is directly related to U.S. interests in the region. This explains Murphy's visit to Baghdad as part of his Middle East tour. He wanted to be acquainted with the situation of this regime, particularly under the current circumstances.

CSO: 4604/30

IRAN

MONTAZERI: FUTURE OF REVOLUTION IN HANDS OF EDUCATED

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 7 Apr 85 p 3

[Text] Qom—Hojjat ol-Eslam Bojnurdi, Supreme Court member, Haj Sheikh Hasan Sane'i, of the 15 Khordad Foundation, Qera'ati, Imam's representative and supervisor of the Literacy Crusade, Rahmani, an official of the mobilization of the oppressed, Majlis representatives of the people from Bu'in Zahra, Samirom, and Ramhormoz, the Friday imams of Borazjan, Shadegan, Kolachai, Papdana of Kerman, Faridun Kenar, and a group of eulogists from Qom met and spoke individually with Ayatollah al-'Ozma Montazeri last week.

In his visit with Hojjat ol-Eslam Bojnurdi, Ayatollah al-'Ozma Montazeri discussed the shortage of committed and aware judges. He said: It is appropriate that a plan be made for the judicial power to make use of arbitration judges, which is provided for in Islam, so that wherever there are not enough committed religious magistrates, arbitration judges could be used.

In his visit with Hojjat ol-Eslam Rahmani, an official of the mobilization of the oppressed, he praised the role of the army, the revolutionary guards, and the gendarmerie in continuing the war. He said: We all know that the main burden of the war is being borne by the brothers of the mobilization. Of course, the sacrifices and devotion of the three armed forces and the revolutionary guards are praiseworthy and deserving of our nation's notice in all respects, but in many places it is the sacrifices of the great people's forces of the mobilization which have eased many problems for our combatants and opened the way for their advancement, and God will reward these dear ones according to the level of merit they have attained. He stressed: It is expected that more than before the proper officials will praise these people's forces, who accomplish the greatest tasks at the fronts with the least amount of attention, and that they will make every effort to solve their various difficulties and problems.

Necessity for Practical Political and Intellectual Unity of Seminaries and Universities

During this visit, he also gave eight million rials to Hojjat ol-Eslam Rahmani to meet the needs of the combatants of the mobilization.

According to this report, Hojjat ol-Eslam Hemmati, Ayatollah al-'Ozma Montazeri's representative at Martyr Chemran University in Ahvaz, along with the presidents of several universities, officials from the university crusade and members of this university's Islamic society met with him last week. At this meeting, Ayatollah al-'Ozma Montazeri stressed the importance of the academic dimension, the cultural richness of the university, and its role in reaching full

economic and military independence. He said: As long as our country does not maintain sufficient academic growth, all of our slogans are practically empty, and our need for other countries will remain.

He noted: Academic growth, of course, must be accompanied by the growth of spirituality and the strengthening of religious culture in the universities, otherwise academic growth will only be detrimental.

He added: One of the reasons for my sending representatives to the universities was to put into practice the ideal of unity between the universities and seminaries, which is one of our long-time desires. It must be realized, however, that this great goal is not practically attainable solely with slogans, seminars, or congresses. What is important is academic unity of thought and intellectual relations between the seminaries and universities. This must be put into practice. We must arrange for the sciences related to society and its various concerns, such as politics, economics, law, and such things, which are studied in the universities, to be taught also in the seminaries and be matters of concern for clergymen and religious scholars. Conversely, in the universities the Islamic sciences and religious knowledge must be officially taught to the necessary extent in contemporary language by scholars and committed theologians. This requires greater intellectual collaboration and cooperation between the universities and seminaries. In my view, full use must be made in the seminaries of university professors, and in the universities of clergymen and theologians, in order to make the political and intellectual unity of the seminaries and universities a practical reality.

#### Necessity of Correct Encounters between Students and Teachers

He noted the necessity for correct encounters between university students and teachers: These very literate people are the hope for the future of the revolution and the country; the enemy has invested a lot in taking these dear ones away from us, and unfortunately, they have already caught many of our youth in their net of deviation.

Our encounters must therefore be entirely constructive and appealing. If our youth are sensitive to political matters, they must be accepted, encouraged, and allowed to talk. He added: I have heard that it is said in some places that youth must be made indifferent to political matters. This is foolish and erroneous talk, and it is 100 percent in the interest of the enemies of Islam and the revolution.

#### Lebanese Muslim Resistance to Foreign Occupiers

According to this report, Hojjat ol-Eslam Khaliq met with Ayatollah al-'Ozma Montazeri last week on his return from Lebanon and reported to him on the formation of a seminary and the current status of the Islamic movement's progress in Lebanon.

At this meeting, Ayatollah al-'Ozma Montazeri praised the resistance of the Muslims of Lebanon to foreign occupiers. He said: The main secret of the current success and progress of Lebanese Muslims is the maintenance of unity of speech, the power of faith, and their devotion. A plot is being perpetrated by the Zionists and their mercenaries on the inside in Lebanon to break up the unity of speech among Muslims against Israeli aggressors, based on raising the issue of Sunnis and Shi'ites, and all Muslim groups, and especially the clergy of Islam and the aware adults and youth in the area must be fully aware of the depth of this Israeli plot. They must continue to maintain and strengthen their unity and solidarity and be fully attentive to the Satanic instigations and insinuations of the mercenaries of Israel and America.



IRAN

TEHRAN: IRAQ FAILS TO ADHERE TO WAR CONVENTIONS

LD251526 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 0745 GMT 25 Apr 85

[Unattributed commentary on the "Armed Forces" program]

[Text] International news agencies reported that during his stay in Iraq Richard Murphy, the American assistant secretary of state, met with Mikha'il Yuhanna 'Aziz, [as heard] the foreign minister of the aggressive regime of Saddam, and talked to him about the imposed war. Although the blows delivered at the Ba'athist aggressors during the victorious Badr operations had convinced the world arrogance of the necessity of boosting the morale of the Saddamists, the hasty visit of the American assistant secretary of state to Iraq and to a number of other countries and having discussions about the desperate situation of the government of Saddam is a sign of the worsening internal situation there.

On the other hand, the ineffectiveness of the new propaganda-criminal device of Saddam which has been set forth in the form of either total war or comprehensive peace, was another reason for the worries of the Eastern and Western supporters of Saddam. The leaders of world arrogance have become fully aware of this viewpoint of world public opinion--that the observance of war conventions such as refraining from attacks on residential areas, or the prohibition of the use of chemical weapons, are only applicable during a military engagement. Otherwise, in peacetime there is no issue concerning the observance of war regulations. This is why the trampling of all war regulations underfoot by the Iraqi regime, such as attacks on residential areas, which are carried out under the pretext of total war are to be condemned.

Although the world arrogance is itself the main culprit inciting the attacks on cities and the use of chemical weapons; nevertheless, by undermining the sanctity of regulations devised for wartime, in the future every group and movement will allow itself to make use of destructive and forbidden weapons in facing their enemies. Certainly, this would mainly harm the so-called powerful governments of the world who have numerous large and small opponents.

The critical situation existing inside Iraq, the demoralized forces of Saddam, and the repeated crushing blows of the forces of Islam upon the aggressive enemy, have so weakened the regime of Saddam on the battlefronts of the imposed war that they accept the clear violation of international regulations.

This results in pressure being exerted by world public opinion against Saddam's war crimes, with the hope of reducing the influence of the fighters of Islam on the battlefronts.

However, the usurping and atheistic Ba'athist rulers should know that the issue of war crimes is something quite separate from the war which they have unjustly imposed upon us. The Islamic Republic of Iran, while adhering to international principles and regulations and rejecting war crimes, will continue its honorable defensive war on the battlefronts and will not cease for a moment until she achieves her legitimate rights.

CSO: 4640/528

IRAN

SUPREME JUDICIAL COUNCIL ON CONFISCATED PROPERTIES, LAND

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 13 Apr 85 p 3

[Text] Hojjat ol-Eslam Morteza Moqtada'i, member and spokesman for the Supreme Judicial Council, gave a press conference last Thursday morning in which he discussed the most important issues that came before the Supreme Judicial Council last week.

He began by discussing rulings on confiscated lands issued by the revolutionary court, and then he discussed those making financial claims against those convicted in the revolutionary courts. He said: The question has been asked whether it is in the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Justice to hear these claims, or the revolutionary courts issuing the verdict, and the announcement has been made that the same courts issuing the verdict will review the case again.

He added: The central staff of the seven-person land distribution groups has issued a report from the seven-person groups from Gonbad, Kordestan, and West Azarbaijan, and a report has also been made on lands which have been held and cultivated by the reconstruction crusade since the beginning of the revolution and have now been relinquished. At a session of the Supreme Judicial Council, the staff was given the necessary guidance and new guidelines, with discussion and explanation of previous guidelines with regard to lands which had been given to farmers before 1360 [21 March 1981 - 20 March 1983] in Kordestan, based on the principle that lands given to farmers by organizations since the revolution should remain as they are to prevent land from being taken out of cultivation.

The spokesman for the Supreme Judicial Council also said: Members of the Prison Supervisory Council, the Tehran Public Prosecutor's Office, and the Supreme Judicial Council's representative for prison affairs reported on their activities and presented a graph of national statistics at a meeting of the Supreme Judicial Council. They were given the necessary guidance by the council, and amendments were made to several paragraphs of the prison guidelines with regard to the supervision and management of prisons for mini-groups and the selection of officials and workers for these prisons.

Hojjat ol-Eslam Moqtada'i then discussed the enactment of amendments to the former Law of Justice and the making of a plan for arbitration judges. He said: A large number of honorable clergymen in the municipalities and Tehran, who have knowledge and influence in the area, although not willing to be full-time administrators for the courts, are willing to help meet the needs of the courts in this important and religiously lawful Islamic matter by serving in the courts at least two hours a day. With His Holiness Ayatollah al-'Ozma Montazeri's emphasis on the use of clergymen throughout the country in judicial affairs, this matter was discussed in the Supreme Judicial Council. It was decided that the former Law of Justice would be studied,

amended, and sent to the Majlis for approval, so that these people could be utilized legally. It was also decided that the clergymen in Tehran and the municipalities should be identified, and that judicial communications would be sent to each of them at the times they specify themselves. They will appear in the courts without administrative formalities and give their views on points of religious law. Their decisions will be carried out by the necessary judicial organizations. We hope that with the implementation of this plan, our honorable clergymen brothers will participate in this important matter in order to lighten the heavy backlog of cases in the courts.

In conclusion he said: Two clergymen were given oral and written examinations for participation in judicial affairs by the Teacher's Society of Qom. After they were accepted at the council meeting with a personal appearance, they were declared trainees. Seven persons with masters degrees from the college of justice were named judicial assistants and began working.

9310

CSO: 4640/522

IRAN

OFFICIAL ON NEW MISSILES MADE IN COUNTRY

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 13 Apr 85 p 2

[Text] KEYHAN political service. Engineer Nili, the minister of mines and metals, accompanied by his deputies and the managers of steel industries, met with Hojjat ol-Eslam Hashemi-Rafsanjani Thursday afternoon.

In this meeting, reports on each unit were given by the officials. Then Hojjat ol-Eslam Rafsanjani said:

The experts and scholars are quite hopeful and reassuring concerning the industrial self-sufficiency of the country. In terms of industrial resources, the experts consider our country to be quite rich and this optimistic view is very good news in regards to the most important foundation for the economic independence of the country, which is the steel industry.

A very good point, which pleases us very much, is that competent and specialized individuals who are interested in the country, the revolution and Islam are pursuing this task. This shows that our domestic forces are highly prepared for this work.

The projects that you speak of, even though they are very large, are small in terms of our country, because they began so late. Of course, our society, which has been a consumer one and is now a consumer as well, is not very familiar with these issues. It would be appropriate for you to inform the people of these issues with figures and numbers, through interviews, speeches, and so on, in order to bring them hope and good news. The people's hopes for the revolution are very general. But, if they become acquainted with the realities, especially the young people, this can be very effective in their morale, beliefs and hopes.

The effective steps that you have taken under the war conditions in our country have been very essential. Under the war conditions, considering the pressures imposed on us by foreigners and their taking advantage of this situation, and considering the

conditions after the revolution and the departure of some of the experts and managers after the revolution, you should be very satisfied with the work that you have accomplished. Considering my view of the totality of the country's problems, I find your activities satisfactory.

Then, pointing out that generally all the sectors of the country have the basis for growth and development, Hojjat ol-Eslam Hashemi-Rafsanjani said: Our material and cash resources and our manpower are not sufficient for the talents of the various sectors of the country. For instance, in the area of higher education, the university administrators have many plans for expanding the educational environment, increasing the numbers of professors and students, changing the universities to two shifts, and so on. They insist on material and cash resources. Everything they say is logical and shows that there is much talent in various sectors of the country for development and growth.

### Building New Missiles

The speaker of the Majlis then said: Before I spoke with you, I spoke with a group of missile manufacturers from the missile industries of the Ministry of Defense. They offered many vital plans, such as building submarines and war ships, for which we pay a great deal of money, and plans for the expansion of technical and educational tasks. The new missile that they have invented, and which we may use in the next few days, is very different from previous missiles. A very interesting innovation has been used in this missile, which travels very well and accurately: it is launched at the push of a button.

There are other projects to reduce costs in the area of military work. The implementation of these projects all require material and cash resources and must be calculated. For example, a few days ago, I visited the Razi institute in Hesarak. The raw materials for their work consist of such things as snakes and scorpions, which are found in the desert. They have even increased their production three-fold. They said that they need material resources to expand their production.

Therefore, we see that other than oil, our industries have much potential for expansion in all areas. Of course, this will be possible in coordination with the government.

The speaker of the Majlis continued: There is another problem, which is the disruption by individuals who do not understand the value of competent management. Even they may be speaking out of compassion. For example, since some of the managers do not have their revolutionary state of mind, they do not get along with them. Of course, there are different individuals in this group.

For example, in the steel mill, such as Mobarakeh steel, there are all kinds of individuals. Some of them may be good and some may be hypocrites who try to bother the managers. Since at the present in our society, and also in the future, we are unable to select individuals easily, we must accept that in our society, these problems, differences and conflicts may always exist. Your task is to resist such obstacles and tolerate the hardships. As it is the task of some to give their lives on the fronts, the task of the administrator, other than expending energy, is not to get tired and not to be afraid of hardships and obstacles. On the path of God, the harder the task, the more valuable it is. The person of value is the one who engages in hard and bitter tasks, because strong men were created for difficult tasks. When you solve a problem, it is like a combatant who breaks through the enemy lines and senses victory.

Easy tasks belong to weak people. The present time belongs to difficult tasks.

Then, pointing out that at this time the salaries paid by the government are not appropriate to the output and incomes are insignificant compared to the output, Mr Hashemi-Rafsanjani said:

In management, the love of being a boss and the dealings that existed in the past do not have support today. Also, bad behavior does not exist in the higher levels of management and if it does, it is very insignificant. Therefore, in your work, you cannot count on material pleasures. Of course, if some people do not pay attention to the value of work and do not consider the priorities, they must be confronted through contacting the minister and concerned official and the problem must be eliminated. Silence in such situations is contrary to struggle. Through reminders to the Cabinet, the Majlis and concerned committees, those who are incompetent and who through bad management and deviations destroy the fruits of our work must be stopped and the problems eliminated so that, God willing, the main foundations of the economy of the country are strengthened.

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CSO: 4640/523

PAKISTAN

U.S. AMBASSADOR'S REMARKS VIEWED

GF301700 Rawalpindi HAIDAR in Urdu 24 Apr 85 p 3

[Editorial: "The U.S. Envoy's Sentiments"]

[Text] The U.S. Ambassador to Pakistan expressed his opinion on the Afghanistan issue, martial law in Pakistan, and Pakistan's nuclear program, in answer to correspondents' questions at the Rawalpindi Press Club in the "Meet the Press" program. He said that the United States knows fully well that the Pakistani people, political parties, and leaders do not want martial law, but after the elections Pakistan seems to be on the right path. Mr Deane Hinton reiterated the U.S. stand that according to the 1959 defense agreement, the United States is only obliged to assist Pakistan in the event of a communist or communist-instigated attack on Pakistan.

He said: The present program for economic and military aid to Pakistan to the tune of \$302 billion [figure as published] will be continued after the tenure of the agreement expires and talks between the United States and Pakistan already have begun on the subject. U.S. aid to Pakistan is geared toward the objective of making Pakistan so strong that any aggressor would have to think twice before attacking it. The Soviet Union could become a source of danger to the Gulf states, the Indian Ocean, and even Saudi Arabia.

In answer to a question, the U.S. ambassador admitted that there have been some instances of violations of human rights in Pakistan and expressed some apprehension on the cases when punishments have been meted out without any trials or opportunity to present a justification; but now Pakistan seems to be moving in the right direction. A civil government has been set up after the elections and we have heard President Ziaul Haq saying that martial law is soon to be lifted; the prime minister also has said that he wants martial law to end and none of the newly elected assembly members wants martial law to continue.

Mr Deane Hinton did not agree with the MRD leaders' stance that Pakistan should hold direct talks with the Babrak Karmal government. He said: Such a demand from the torchbearers of democracy and the restitution of the people's rights and the champions of human rights to recognize a puppet



government is indeed surprising. When his attention was drawn to U.S. puppet governments, he said that was in the past. U.S. forces have returned from wherever they were sent. If U.S. forces were sent to a country to rectify the situation there, it has never been the case that they remained there indefinitely. U.S. forces returned from Grenada after they had finished their work there and now not a single American remains after the establishment of democracy.

We do not wish to present the details of the U.S. envoy's statements but we have merely presented the salient points above so as to bring out the contradictory nature of some of his utterances. Pakistan has always considered the United States a friend and an ally and whatever the opinion of the Pakistani governments in this regard, the Pakistani people feel that the United States has attempted to honor this friendship even if for its own motives or political interests; especially since the advent of the Soviet forces in Afghanistan, the United States has paid greater attention to Pakistan. But whatever aid has been given by the United States to Pakistan in the past and that which is being promised now, certainly is not meant to make Pakistan economically stable. Now, if the United States talks of supplying modern or heavy armaments to Pakistan for the sake of stemming the spread of communist influence and for its own interests, this debt has to be paid by the people of Pakistan but its long-term benefits will accrue to the United States.

Some circles are of the opinion that the United States has always been reluctant to give Pakistan any assistance in the industrial field and it has always endeavored to keep our industries from developing due to its own vital interests.

With regard to the explanation of the 1959 agreement between the United States and Pakistan, these remarks are merely based on wishful thinking. When there are joint interests at stake, then aid is not linked to treaties, but if those providing aid do not get their expected benefits, then the treaties remain on paper because the real problem is that the one who provides aid gives priority to his own interests and needs.

As far as the U.S. ambassador's contradictory utterances on Grenada are concerned--that their forces have returned after rectifying the situation and that Soviet forces are still in Afghanistan--we consider his analogy fallacious. Foreign aggression is always to be condemned and we wholeheartedly condemn the Soviet aggression in Afghanistan and we consider the entry of U.S. forces into Grenada also an act of aggression. Thus, both great powers are guilty of the same crime. If it is merely stated that U.S. forces returned from Grenada after putting things in order but the Soviet Union is still in Afghanistan, then the Soviet Union and Afghanistan have a similar stand that conditions have not been rectified in Afghanistan and as soon as things have been set right the Soviet forces also will leave Afghanistan and that both countries do not envisage a long-term program for the Soviet forces' stay.

There is no doubt that with the Soviet aggression in Afghanistan, Pakistan has begun to feel insecure. With the coming of Afghan refugees, Pakistan has to shoulder an economic burden. Also, the Soviet Union has already reached our borders. Hence, all possible steps must be taken to halt it from advancing. We certainly welcome U.S. aid to make Pakistan strong and stable but we also feel bound to say that if the United States wants a durable friendship with Pakistan and is not merely giving it importance in the perspective of Afghanistan, it will have to help Pakistan to attain industrial stability as well as to cooperate in the completion of the Chashma nuclear power plant so that Pakistan can save itself from an energy crisis. But we must say with great regret that, on the one hand, the United States claims to be friendly with us, while on the other hand, it lays down conditions for the completion of this power plant to the effect that until Pakistan accepts international restrictions, no assistance will be given for its completion.

We feel, however, that with the Soviet forces' advent in Afghanistan, Pakistan has taken certain steps to strengthen its friendship with the United States, the result of which has not been very pleasant on the whole. The logical concomitant of such steps should have been that the United States should have amended some of its terms and conditions for the completion of the power plant. Facts prove that the United States has only gained in its friendship with Pakistan but has not given anything worth mentioning.

At this juncture, Pakistan needs to institute quite a few measures to strengthen its economy, to surmount its energy crisis, to develop its industries, and to bring its soil under maximum cultivation. If the United States wishes to inspire any appreciation among the people of Pakistan, as removed from the government level, and desires durable friendship, then it will have to cooperate wholeheartedly in all fields and prove by its actions that it is serious in its resolve to raise the standard of living of the Pakistani people and to solve their problems. If this is not the case, then it still has its friendly relations with the present government anyway.

CSO: 4656/125

PAKISTAN

OFFICIAL SAYS 'REFUGEES NOT TO STAY PERMANENTLY'

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 30 Mar 85 p 8

[Text]

PESHAWAR, March 29: The Provincial chief of the Commissionerate of Afghan Refugees, Rustam Shah Mohammad, has said that the uprooted Afghans had no intention to stay permanently in Pakistan or to create problems in any organised manner.

Speaking at a reception held by the Commissionerate to mark the Afghan National Day on March 27, he said that about three million Afghans had been compelled to leave their homes and take refuge mostly in Pakistan. The Afghans, he added, were not the type to leave their homes easily or to live on charity for ever. Despite the best efforts being made by Pakistan to provide all possible assistance to the refugees, they were still living under sub-human conditions. The supply of rations was neither adequate nor regular while about 50 per cent of them were not getting clean drinking water. No self-respecting person, he said, could live under such conditions for an indefinite period and

there should be no doubt in any mind that they would go back to Afghanistan as soon as the situation was ripe for their honourable and dignified return.

Mr. Mohammad also refuted the impression that the refugees were largely nomads who used to migrate to Pakistan even before the foreign intervention. All these rumours, he said, were being spread by vested interests.

Referring to the pressure on public services in NWFP due to the presence of the large number of refugees, he remarked that if they had not brought their transport with them, the local population would have had to face a tremendous problem in that sector also.

The function was attended by a large number of Afghans and representatives of foreign organisations engaged in the relief operations. But none of the top leaders of the Afghan Mujahideen was present.

CSO: 4600/374

PAKISTAN

PAKISTAN TO HELP TRAIN PRAYER LEADERS FOR PRC

GF291425 Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 15 Apr 85 p 3

[Excerpts] Islamabad, April 14--The Government of Pakistan will assist the Chinese Muslims in the training of Khatibs and Imams and renovation of Deeni Madaris and Mosques.

The offer was made by the Minister of State for Religious Affairs, Maqbool Ahmad, at a meeting held here today with the visiting Chinese Muslim delegation headed by Haji Hussain Heiboli.

The minister also offered to supply religious books for the dissemination of Islamic knowledge in Xinjiang Province.

Salim Saifullah Khan [federal commerce minister--FBIS] said that we are proud of valuable support and assistance by China on various issues at international forums. He recalled that China is our leading partner and we have bilateral trade relations which would be further improved. He impressed upon the delegation to identify more areas of mutual cooperation during their meetings with officials and representatives of Chambers of Commerce and Industry.

The delegation later called on the President General Mohammad Ziaul Haq at the Army House here this evening. The President expressed confidence that the visit of the delegation would help strengthen the existing close ties between Pakistan and China. The president also gave books on Pakistan to each member of the delegation.

It may be added that it is the first Muslim delegation from the People's Republic of China. The delegation will also visit other Muslim countries.

The Chinese ambassador to Pakistan was also present on the occasion.

CSO: 4600/411

PAKISTAN

COMMENTARY VIEWS CONTINUATION OF GULF WAR, PEACE EFFORTS

GF241444 Karachi MASHRIQ in Urdu 21 Apr 85 p 3

[Article by Dr Abdussalam Khorshid: "Another Effort for Peace Between Iraq and Iran"]

[Text] The ICO set up a peace committee to bring an end to hostilities between Iran and Iraq. The committee has so far failed in its efforts. This nine-member committee remained engaged in its peace plan until July last year, but when it felt that the parties concerned were not willing to come to an understanding they discontinued their efforts. Now ICO Secretary General Seyed Sharifuddin Pirzada has announced that the recent intensification in the Gulf war makes it imperative that the ICO should renew its efforts. A summit conference of the Islamic ummah committee has therefore been called for 1 and 2 May. The fact that it will be a summit conference means that some ray of hope has come into view, otherwise it could have been held at a lower level. In a statement, His Excellency Sharifuddin Pirzada said that it is regretted that the parties concerned paid no attention to the sound proposals laid before them in July last year. After his meeting with UN Secretary General de Cuellar, His Excellency Pirzada said that the ICO peace committee will offer him full cooperation in his effort to bring about peace in the Gulf war. The following countries are members of the peace committee: Pakistan, Bangladesh, Turkey, Malaysia, Senegal, Guinea, the PLO, and Gambia; the last is the presiding country.

The thing to look for in the Iraq-Iran war is what are the military aims of the parties concerned? There is no doubt that the war was started by Iraq and that it was Iraq which unilaterally cancelled the Algiers pact which had decided that the Shatt al-'Arab (the confluence of the Rivers Tigris and Euphrates) will belong to both of them at 1 : 1 ratio. This was a concession on the part of Iraq but it was in accordance with the international law which says that if a river runs between two countries and serves as an international border, then the border lies in the center of the river, that is, half of it belongs to the one country and the other half to the other. Iraq accepted this agreement but said that this agreement also carries another clause which

stipulates that Iran will surrender to Iraq an area of 400 square miles which Iraq had long been claiming. Since this clause remained unfulfilled, therefore, according to Iraq, the Algiers Agreement became null and void. Iranian aims seem to be very high. Iran wants an Islamic revolution in Iraq, too. Iran has already brainwashed the Iraqi prisoners of war on these lines. Arab countries are against Iran because on the one hand there is an ancient Arab prejudice against non-Arabs and on the other the Islamic revolution may topple the ruling system in the Gulf states. It was on this account that the Gulf Arab countries poured material aid into Iraq. Opponents of these Arab countries, Syria and Libya, although Arabs themselves, supported Iran.

If the war was only between these two countries, some settlement could be arrived on the basis of give and take, but this is an ideological war in which the Iranian view is clear but that of Iraq not so clear, because in Iraq there is Ba'thist Party rule and the countries supporting Iraq have a sultanate system of rule. They want Iraq to remain a buffer state between them and Iran. Moreover, there are other interests involved. Those oil-producing countries which have deprived Iran and Iraq of their customers want the war to continue.

CSO: 4656/116

PAKISTAN

COMMENTARY DISCUSSES DEMAND FOR DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS ON AFGHANISTAN

BK231008 Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 13 Apr 85 pp 1, 9

[Article by Sultan Ahmed]

[Text] Karachi--Fear of an escalation of the conflict on Pakistan's western borders, involving the Soviet forces more directly and massively in it, is prompting Pakistan's political leaders to talk openly for a negotiated settlement with Afghanistan.

This comes in the wake of hope of a settlement through UN mediation fading out after it had lasted nearly 3 years. The indirect warning or implied threat by the new Soviet leader, Mr Mikhail Gorbachev, to President Ziaul Haq during their meeting in the Kremlin is adding to the anxieties of Pakistan.

"Sooner or later, perhaps sooner, they--the Russians--will go flat out... this, at any rate, is the feeling I have come away with," General Zia said in an interview with THE SUNDAY TELEGRAPH, London.

He came away convinced that Mr Gorbachev was determined to end once and for all the humiliation of the Afghan conflict, and so, spurred on by the Red Army marshals. He might embark on a campaign even if that meant committing 500,000 more Russian troops to the task, he said.

The possibility of an escalation of the conflict with a super-power, resulting in more raids on Pakistan and "hot pursuit" operations across the borders, as General Zia has indicated, has made not only political leaders of various parties, ranging from the right to the left, but also the retired military chiefs, plead for a negotiated settlement with Kabul.

In his inaugural address to the newly-elected Majlis-i-Shoora [Advisory Council], General Zia departed from the carefully prepared text to speak extensively of Pakistan's resolve to help the Afghans struggling to free their country, and of the sacrifices Pakistanis have to make cheerfully to help their Afghan brethren. He made his resolve in this regard very obvious.

And, he told THE SUNDAY TELEGRAPH later: "If the real crunch should come with the Russians, Pakistan will stand and fight on her own soil." He also said the United States, China and, of course, the Muslim world, would "help Pakistan effectively in their own separate ways."

But the people do not believe that in case of a full-scale war the United States or Chinese help would be adequate. Past experience in this regard is not reassuring to Pakistanis. Anyway, they do not want to involve themselves in a war with the Soviet Union when the first step towards a return to democratic order has been taken after eight long years and a score of problems remain to be attended to urgently at home.

Significantly, among the political leaders, the chief of the religious Jamiat Ulema-e Pakistan, Maulana Shah Ahmad Noorani, has repeatedly called for direct talks with Kabul. He asks why such negotiations should be difficult when the charge d'affaires of the two countries were functioning in Kabul and Islamabad normally.

Also remarkable is the fact that three of the former chiefs of staff of the Pakistan Air Force, Air Marshal Nur Khan, Air Marshal Asghar Khan and Air Chief Marshal Zulfiqar, have been urging direct negotiations with Kabul.

Air Marshal Nur Khan, who has been elected to the National Assembly and has been speaking more like an opposition leader, protests that the country has not been taken into confidence about Pakistan's involvement in the Afghan issue. This is not in the national interest of Pakistan, which cannot afford a war with Afghanistan when a super power is committed to the party on the other side, he says. He has also cautioned against excessive reliance on the United States, which is a party to a conflict against the Muslim world, including Iran next door.

Air Marshal Asghar Khan says Pakistan is not in a position to have permanent enmity with the Soviet Union and hence it should initiate talks with the Babrak Karmal government. He argues that General Zia cannot refuse to have such talks on the plea that the Kabul regime is unrepresentative as Mr Karmal and General Zia are "sailing in the same boat."

Sardar Sherbaz Mazari, leader of the National Democratic Party, who was released from house arrest last week, maintains there is no reason why Pakistan should involve itself in a super-power tussle unnecessarily. He goes to the extent of asserting that the Pakistan Government is provoking the Soviet Union needlessly.

In the past, Mr Khan Wali Khan and Mir Ghous Bux Bizenjo, president of the Pakistan National Party, had also pleaded for direct negotiations and a peaceful settlement with Kabul. Miss Benazir Bhutto had adopted the same stance.

Though most of the members elected to the national and provincial assemblies are quiet on the issue of Afghanistan, the fear of escalation of the conflict may bring it before the National Assembly during the budget session beginning possibly in May.

United States diplomats in Pakistan have been asking the new legislators whether the National Assembly would opt for a settlement with Mr Karmal. They certainly do not want an early settlement to come through, as the United States has doubled its aid to the Afghan guerrillas and reportedly favours escalation of the resistance by them within Afghanistan.



A major political beneficiary from the conflict will be the ultra-right Jamiat-i-Islami, which made significant electoral gains in the Frontier Province during the recent elections. Five of its members got elected to the national assembly from the Frontier Province and five more to the provincial assembly and because of this an additional Jamaat senator from the frontier. It won a national assembly seat from Baluchistan as well.

Such electoral triumphs stand in sharp contrast with the dismal performance of the Jamaat in these two provinces in the past, when it could not get anyone elected except in the aborted election [phrase indistinct] Alliance against the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] candidates.

Such success has become possible not only because of the non-party elections boycotted by most of the political parties but also because a good deal of the relief funds for the Afghan refugees is handled by the Jamaat, which has been enjoying the support of the government.

So the Jamaat has not voiced any support for a negotiated settlement of the Afghan issue but other parties are becoming increasingly vocal. However, there are doubts whether parliament will be enabled to discuss the issue, as too many members may speak against Pakistan's involvement in the conflict and urge direct negotiations with Kabul, which General Zia abhors. But this is an issue which is becoming increasingly necessary because of the fears of possible Soviet military moves, indicated by General Zia himself.

CSO: 4600/394

PAKISTAN

ASGHAR KHAN ON POLITICAL PROCESS UNDERWAY

Lahore CHATAN in Urdu 4-11 Mar 85 pp 15-19

/Interview with Tehrik-e Isitqlal Chief Asghar Khan by Yunus Khalash/

/Excerpts/ /Question/ It is said that you were offered the prime ministership.

/Answer/ Take care of your own position. Am I a man who will be sold?

/Question/ I'm not saying that.

/Answer/ No one has conducted such an interview. Nor has anyone said that I had been offered the prime ministership. Do you think there is any truth in it? This is utter falsehood. No one except you has said this to me. As far as my meeting with General Araf is concerned, we issued a press release at that time. You did not read the newspapers then.

/Question/ Immediately after formation of the MRD /Movement for Restoration of Democracy/ Sardar Abdul Qayyum left it. He said the reason for his leaving was that the aims of MRD were dangerous and that it became clear in the very first meeting.

/Answer/ I do not know. I was not present at the first meeting. If the aims of MRD were dangerous, I would not have joined it. I do not know what dangers Mr Sardar felt. Only he knows. Ask him.

/Question/ Effects of the movement for restoration of democracy have been mostly in Sind. It had very little effect in Punjab. What do you think are the causes for it?

/Answer/ Even if it did not have as much effect, political workers in the thousands courted arrest. Punjab, too, took part in the movement though the effect was of a different nature. Confrontation and beatings were not part of the MRD's program, but because of government action it had serious repercussions in Sind.

/Question/ In a "Meet The Press" last month Sardar Shauqat Hayat disclosed that a delegation of Sind extremists went to request Indian Prime Minister Mrs Indira Gandhi's help in breaking Sind away from the rest of backward Pakistan. Indira did not agree because after secession the delegation wanted Sind to have an independent status.

/Answer/ I am hearing this from you for the first time. I was not present in the meeting where Sardar Sahib made this disclosure. Anyway every country has separatist elements but the wisdom of government lies in adopting such policies that these elements do not attract attention. Even if a delegation did visit India, what has it accomplished? Who were these people? Whom were they representing? Such a thing should not be given prominence in Punjab. No such movement in Sind has come to my notice. But this I must say, that whenever a people is oppressed it looks to outside for help. That is why government should adopt policies that do not encourage such separatist tendencies. It is for us to compel the (military) regime to return to the barracks, so that, God forbid, these tendencies may not gain momentum.

/Question/ Sardar Abdul Qayyum has also stated that although conditions in Sind are not as bad as they were in East Pakistan, yet they are moving in the same direction.

/Answer/ I emphatically say that if the military remains in power for long, it will not be good for the country. In 1968, too, I had said that East Pakistan would break away. At that time people thought it a joke that Asghar Khan was saying such terrible things. When army action took place in East Pakistan I gave a warning to the government that if a single shot were fired in Dacca, East Pakistan would break away. Now I say that if people were not given suitable and correct representation, then survival of the country will be in danger.

/Question/ URDU DIGEST has written that on 27 December Ghulam Mustapha had a meeting with the president in Karachi State Guest House and the governor of Punjab took a prominent part in it.

/Answer/ You will recall that, during the National Alliance movement, when Mr Rafiq Bajwa shook hands with Mr Bhutto he was immediately fired. In view of the present situation, it does not matter who meets the president or the governor. The MRD line is very clear, and the party is united. No MRD leader can reach an agreement with the government in defiance of the people's wishes. These meetings are meaningless. What is important is that this regime is standing in the same place where the Bhutto regime stood in April 1977. Whoever collaborates with the government will find his political career finished there and then. I have no interest in the matter. If the government is going against the wishes of the people, then there can be no talks with it.

/Question/ You said that Bajwa met Bhutto and was immediately fired?

/Answer/ At that time the movement had reached a definite stage. But at this point a meeting with the president can result in far more scandal. But still our movement has not reached that stage at which anyone can be immediately fired. The situation then was different. There was trust.

/Question/ It is clear from your remarks that there is no moderation among MRD leaders.

/Answer/ There certainly is.

/Question/ You said in a very impatient manner that you do not care whether there was a meeting or not.

/Answer/ No. No. There is no question of impatience. What I'm saying is that we have no interest in a meeting. Nobody can have talks. I'm very familiar with the president's nature and I know his aims fully well.

/Question/ Khan Sahib, this is a question of party discipline. Without a mandate from his party, how can anyone meet the president?

/Answer/ If there were no mandate and yet someone met the president, what is the good of it? Such a meeting is meaningless.

/Question/ On the one hand, if any person from MRD takes part in elections he is expelled from the party. On the other hand, one of your people meets the president and no action is taken against him.

/Answer/ When did I ever say that anyone met the president? How did you reach that conclusion? I don't know if anyone had a meeting or not.

/Question/ You are saying that you are not interested whether anyone met the president or not?

/Answer/ Yes, I am not interested because there can be no talks. Just ask questions. Do not argue. You are not a political person. The facts are that there was a meeting of the MRD in which it was told who had the meeting and what transpired there. We accepted it. So far as participating in elections is concerned, the MRD has adopted a unanimous decision that whoever takes part in elections will be dismissed from the party. In accordance with the decision, we dismissed those who took part in the elections. The question of a meeting did not figure. I do not consider it a serious issue. Meetings can be of two kinds. One is a social meeting and there is no harm in it. The other is a regular meeting. At this time no one has the authority to negotiate. It is being given unnecessary prominence in the newspapers.

/Question/ This is to get your reaction to the elections held on 25 February. In our opinion, even though elections were nonparty, at least there is some hope of democracy.

/Answer/ This may be your opinion, not ours. Will you vote?

/Question/ To vote or not to vote is a different matter. It is done on a personal basis.

/Answer/ I think this is a wrong attitude. People who vote will wittingly or unwittingly strengthen the hand of the government rather than the people.

/Question/ Was it not possible for MRD to take part in elections and play a role in parliament?

/Answer/ We gave the matter careful thought. In our opinion, future assemblies will be powerless and ineffective. Did you read the president's statements? He says so long as the country is not secure, martial law will continue. If security has not returned in 7.5 years, how will it now? The president has said that he will continue to be the president. Governors will continue to serve. Despite this, you say that democracy will return. Democracy cannot be restored like this.

/Question/ What is your reaction to the 19 December referendum?

/Answer/ The MRD has already expressed its reaction to this. The question itself is utterly wrong.

/Question/ If both of your major demands--restoration of the 173 constitution and elections under a party system--are accepted, will you accept the referendum?

/Answer/ How can the referendum be accepted. There is no provision for a referendum in the 1973 constitution.

/Question/ Would you describe it as defunct?

/Answer/ The referendum is defunct. What else is it?

/Question/ Your two major demands were that...

/Answer/ Now there are no demands. These demands were there before. In a meeting in Abbotabad it was decided that a meeting should be held in Lahore on 22 January. We thought the government should be given a period of 2 or 3 days to think it over and make a decision. But the government put everyone in jail. The Lahore meeting was not permitted. Now we cannot envisage meaningful talks with the government. Their aims are different. We cannot compromise on principles.

/Question/ The government released a few MRD leaders to take part in the 2-day Abbotabad session. This led to hopes that an acceptable agreement could be reached between the government and the MRD.

/Answer/ The government wanted the MRD to capitulate. It thought differences might arise in the MRD and the party might break up. The government wanted to divide us and hoped we would become its followers.

/Question/ The newspaper JAHAN (28 January to 3 February) wrote that, while the MRD session was in progress, Miss Beanzir Bhutto phoned you to continue the boycott.

/Answer/ What rumors you people start! This is utterly wrong. Her phone call came when the session was over. By that time people had already left. Even if the phone call had come in the course of the session, it would not have been a calamity. Doesn't she have the right to phone?

/Question/ What did you talk about on the phone?

/Answer/ She asked what decisions had been taken in the MRD session. I told her about the decisions. Apart from this, nothing special was said.

/Question/ The facility that was provided to hold the Abbotabad session...

/Answer/ Which facility was provided? Use of the word "facility" is grossly inappropriate.

/Question/ I am referring to the release of MRD leaders so they could take part in the session.

/Answer/ They released some of our comrades. They are the rulers. They can put anyone in jail. What kind of facility is this? Nasirullah Khan was released and again put in jail. All you can say is that some people were not barred from taking part in the session.

/Question/ Even a single ray of light is enough in a dark room.

/Answer/ You cannot hope for a ray from them.

/Question/ The MRD could not reach any decision in Abbotabad and a meeting was called for 22 January.

/Answer/ We definitely reached a decision. We said: "These are our conditions. If the government accepts them we are ready to take part in elections. The reason for calling a meeting in Lahore was to give the government 2 to 3 days to think it over. If the government gives a positive reply the MRD will be prepared to participate in the elections."

/Question/ From your remarks one can guess that the MRD is not prepared to talk to government. Nor does there appear to be any flexibility in its attitude. This is the stand of government as well.

/Answer/ After looking at the regime's intentions in the past, present and future, we have concluded that there appears no possibility of meaningful talks. If a miracle happens, no one can say. If the government's thinking changes, then why can't there be talks? All politicians want to reach a meaningful settlement which will do good to the country and the nation. But keeping in view the regime's past role, present attitude and future intentions, any talks with it cannot be fruitful.

/Question/ The president has said that there cannot be any talks with the MRD. The election date has been fixed. And here your...

/Answer/ We tell the truth. Do not take any notice of what the government says. Ignore it. It first made identity cards a condition in the referendum but later removed the condition. No one knows if the elections will take place or not.

/Question/ You do not allow us to delve into the past, but you make references to it.

/Answer/ I'm talking about Mr Zia-ul-Haq. Concentrate on the present conditions. Talk of the country.

/Question/ When both parties lack flexibility, what will become of the nation, what will become of the country?

/Answer/ What the nation wants, that will be. We want to display flexibility so that we may reach a meaningful result, but we cannot trade away the interests of the nation and the country. The government is working against public interest and we cannot be a party to it.

/Question/ Understanding with the government does not appear to be possible. Under these new conditions, what policy will the MRD pursue?

/Answer/ We will take our message to the public. In our opinion, no intelligent person should take part in it (elections?). We will take our message to the masses through peaceful means.

/Question/ How will your message reach the masses?

/Answer/ The message will reach them. And people will eventually become aware of these means. People will understand when the assemblies are formed. They will understand very well. This will further weaken their (government's) position. The referendum has exposed them. Even then, your newspapers advised us not to boycott it. But now you see our decision was correct. God willing, this time too, our decision will be correct. Surely, there will be voting in the election but, on the whole, this exercise will be futile. People will come to know that the new "council" is powerless because foreign policy has already been fixed by the president, the budget will be prepared by Ghulam Asiaq Khan (God protect him) and the new assembly, like the council, will be left crying in the wilderness. No one will have authority to say a word on the defense budget. General Zia-ul-Haq is the authority on Islamization policy. He enjoys the cooperation of a few mullahs. He has already completed the work of enforcing the Islamic system. But freedom of writing and speech, personal liberty, economic equality, justice, which has always been the basis of Islamic equality, all these will be out of their power. It has been said about the labor policy /as published/ that this system will continue for 20 years. As a result the new assembly members will not be able to do anything or say anything. This entire exercise will go to waste.

/Question/ You said that the decision to boycott the referendum was correct. According to the MRD, five percent of the votes were cast in favor of referendum. How is it that it did not have the impact it did in 1977?

/Answer/ The Russian intervention in Afghanistan helped the regime. The second big reason for prolongation of this regime is the Islamization process. But now people realize that the talk of Islamization is not realistic. The referendum has brought this reality home to the people. The regime has the cooperation of

the mullahs. These people, in every age, become the flatterers of authority. But now people have become intelligent. The regime's aims are becoming clear to them. Islamization was its second main pillar. The first stage has already been completed. The second is also within sight. The time is getting nearer when people will realize that the real job of the military is guarding the borders.

/Question/ Khan Sahib, the nation has to contend with the bitter experiences of the past. Whenever any movement or confrontation begins, martial law is imposed. God forbid, we should suffer a new martial law.

/Answer/ This, too, is the regime's thinking and propaganda. New martial law holds fear for those who are running the present martial law. They are afraid lest a new general emerge. It makes no difference to us whether it is an old martial law or a young one. We want to remove the military from this job. Our fight is over principles. We have no personal enmity with Zia-ul-Haw. Nor do we desire that he be replaced by a new general. We want the military to return to the barracks. We are against martial law, be it new or old. There is no difference between an old martial law and a new one. Martial law is martial law.

/Question/ Wali Khan Sahib has said that, in the MRD session, he exhibited a U.S. State Department document which said that the nonparty elections in Pakistan were in America's interest.

/Answer/ He may have shown it, but I was not present in the session all the time.

/Question/ Expressing his views on the 1973 constitution, an MRD leader said that it had been buried. Therefore, there was no question of amending it.

/Answer/ It is the unanimous decision of the MRD that elections should be held in accordance with the 1973 constitution.

/Question/ Even though the constitution is dead?

/Answer/ Different people have different opinions. Those who call the constitution dead can only mean that damage is being done to it. This constitution did have flaws, but when the new assembly is formed it will amend it. I have not called the 1973 constitution dead.

/Question/ In an interview in PERALD (February), Mr Bozenjo also said that the constitution has been buried.

/Answer/ This is the opinion of Mr Bozenjo. Ask him. I'm giving my own opinion. The MRD, in a unanimous decision, with which Mr Bozenjo, Wali Khan and other prominent people were also associated, has agreed to hold elections under the 1973 constitution.

/Question/ If the MRD comes to power, what will its foreign policy be?



/Answer/ There is no likelihood of the MRD coming to power because it is not an electoral alliance. Nor are there any elections in the offing. All we want is that martial law should be lifted and an interim government set up. This would be formed without elections. The interim government would be bound to hold elections within 120 days. Then it would be possible for the parties included to fight the elections against one another. Some groups might emerge. All this depends on the situation. At the moment our commitment is that we should have an interim government which would hold elections within 4 months. We are not prepared to accept elections held under martial law.

/Question/ If the martial law people are not ready to agree to holding elections under interim government, then what?

/Answer/ Don't you worry about that.

/Question/ Do you expect your interim government to be formed in the near future?

/Answer/ Why shouldn't it be formed? You'll see.

/Question/ It has been said that Tehrik-e Istiqlal is a party of leaders.

/Question/ Keep on writing till free elections are held. At least you admit that there are a good many leaders in it. Leaders to not descend from heaven. They are the ones who have the support of the people. There is nothing shameful about the fact that there are several leaders in our party. It should be thought-provoking for you that good people are joining the party even when it is not in power. There must be some attraction. There must be some spirit.

12286

CSO: 4656/109

PAKISTAN

## ELECTION SETBACK TO PRORELIGION PARTIES

Karachi AMN in Urdu 20 Mar 85 p 2

/Article by Jumma Khan: "Defeat of Proreligion Parties in General Elections"/

/Text/ Maulana Asif Qasimi of Karachi said in a press conference that the defeat of religiously-oriented parties throughout the country and the failure of even a single religious scholar to win a Senate seat in the elections was a matter of grave concern. He suggested that elections be held again for special Senate seats and a quota be established for religious scholars so that they do not have to compete with technocrats and professional candidates. If elections could not be held again, two religious scholars should be nominated to the Senate from each province in order to allow such scholars to take part fully in the activities of this national body.

Maulana Asif Qasimi's comment should be examined in the light of the policy followed by the government during the last 8 years. The leader of the government, General Zia, has been advocating an Islamic administration from the very first day and he has carried out some Islamic reforms in various departments. He has instituted the system of alms and tithes; he is putting an end to the system of charging interest; he has tried to put women behind the veil and, as he has said, put to rights the direction of radio and television.

Regarding the system of government to be established through the general elections, General Zia had said that he did not want to get involved in the argument about a presidential or parliamentary system, but instead would like the national assembly to play the part of Hezb-ullah, or the party of God. There would thus be a party of reckoning but not an opposition party.

After an 8-year-long meditation, General Zia allowed nonparty elections under certain important conditions with the aim of having religious people elected and an Islamic administration established. Maulana Asif Qasimi should explain why, after all the precautions taken and arrangements made, when elections were finally held, religious parties were defeated and not a single religious scholar was elected to the Senate. Should this be taken to mean that the people do not want an Islamic system or that they want to keep religious scholars out of politics?

Two other important questions that arise are, first, what is the definition of a religious party; and second, who is a religious scholar?

Has God appointed an individual with the executive right to certify which party is religiously oriented and which is not? Is there any individual in this world who can measure faith and certify as to who has more faith and who less? Has God given anyone the right to declare an individual non-Muslim who has professed belief in the one God and his prophet? When the Muslims won a battle in the time of Prophet Mohammad, two of the Muslim warriors put to death two of the enemy who had made a profession of faith. When the Prophet Mohammad asked why they had done so, the Muslims said that the two men had professed Islam out of fear of death and were not sincere in their conversion. The Prophet then asked whether the Muslim warriors had cut open the hearts of the two men to see what their true feelings were. He then gave strict orders that no one who professed Islam should be put to death.

Is the Muslim League which created Pakistan, a country based on Islamic ideology, a party without religious orientation? Anyone who claims that the Muslim League is devoid of religious inclination should also refuse to accept Pakistan as a country based on Islamic ideology, because a party that lacks religious orientation cannot envisage the establishment of an ideologically Islamic country. Of which Pakistani party can it be said that it has no religious orientation or is opposed to Islam? If you should mention the defunct National Democratic Party, this is the party whose leaders joined the National Alliance's campaign against the former government; the leaders of the campaign claimed that it was aimed at establishing the Islamic system /Nizam-e Mustafa/. Can a party that participates in the campaign for an Islamic system, plays a leading part and makes sacrifices be accused of lacking religious orientation? If you should mention the defunct People's Party, the constitution drawn up by this party after consultation with all religious and political parties stated that no law should be passed in Pakistan contrary to the Qoran and the Sunna /tradition/ and that within 7 years all existing laws would be brought in line with the Qoran and the Sunna. The first principle in the People's Party four-point slogan was that Islam was their religion. This party's leader was elected chairman of the Islamic world, and it was during his term of office that a separate ministry for religious affairs was established for the first time; restrictions on Haj were removed; a law was passed to print a Qoran free of all printing errors; Friday was declared a weekly holiday; liquor stores were closed down; restrictions were placed on dancing establishments; horse racing was made illegal, the Imams of the Kaaba and the Nabavi Mosques were invited to visit Pakistan for the first time and led prayers for hundreds of thousands of Muslims in several cities. In view of these facts, can the People's Party be called devoid of religious orientation? Can the defunct Jamiat-e ulema-e Pakistan, Jamiat-e ulema-e Islam, Jamaat-e Islami and Tahrik-e Istiqlal be called devoid of Islamic orientation? Do their programs and constitutions hint of enmity towards Islam? Are not the leaders of these parties Muslims?

First of all, the recent elections were not held on a party basis; hence, there is no validity to the claim that parties with religious leanings were defeated in the elections. I do not know what Asif Qasimi's definition of religiously-oriented parties is, but the whole world knows that in the elections held

during General Yahya's time, the people rejected all those parties that represented themselves as possessing a monopoly on Islam and competed on the basis of Islam alone. What happened in the past has happened again, which proves that in affairs concerning the government, the country and politics, our people have no confidence in the competence of the ulema /religious scholars/.

As far as the absence of any religious scholars in the Senate is concerned, I do not agree with that view. I am certain that there are many learned members of the Senate who have a good knowledge of the Qoran and the Sunna, who know the difference between the lawful and the forbidden, who can distinguish between right and wrong and whose knowledge of religious matters is as comprehensive as that of certified religious scholars. The Senate, the National Assembly and the four provincial assemblies have no shortage of bona fide religious scholars who have a knowledge of the Qoran and the traditions. If any of these bodies, including the Senate, should, either through ignorance or misunderstanding, pass a law not in accordance with religious law, such a law could not be put into effect under the constitution, which does not allow the passing or enforcing of any non-Islamic law. There is already a federal Sharia court /court of religious law/ in the country. An Islamic ideological council is active as well, and the prime minister and the president will both be bound by oath not to allow any non-Islamic law to be enforced. Thus, a non-Islamic law can neither be passed nor enforced. If, in any of the assemblies, only a limited number of the members have studied the Qoran and the traditions, this fact alone should not hinder in the least the passing of Islamic laws or the establishment of an Islamic administration. Those who call themselves or consider themselves religious scholars were not prevented from participating in the elections and they won in several precincts. If certain people who regard themselves as having a monopoly on religion were unable to win seats in any of the assemblies, the fact is neither a matter for grave concern nor is Islam endangered. Religious scholars should realize where they truly belong.

9863

CSO: 4656/108

PAKISTAN

## NOORANI DEMANDS PROBE INTO REGIME'S 'EXCESSES'

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 30 Mar 85 p 8

[Text]

KARACHI, March 29: The Chief of the defunct JUP, Maulana Shah Ahmad Noorani, has demanded a "massive probe" by the judges of the Supreme Court into what he called the 'excesses' committed by the present regime during the last eight years.

He told 'The Muslim' here that Islam believes in "Adl-o-Ihtesab" (justice and accountability) and no person or group of persons are above the requirements of justice under an Islamic system.

He said during the last few years people were detained without trial, subjected to inhuman treatment, and deprived of the freedom granted by Islam. He said that merely induction of certain powerless Assemblies is not enough. The most important thing is to subject the people who held reins of power to accountability.

He said the murder of a political activist early this week in Thatta is a glaring proof that the people are not living in a civilised society.

Maulana Noorani said the new Assembly and the new Prime Minister under the amended Constitution have been rendered powerless as all the powers have been concentrated in the hands of the President.

Maulana Noorani said the new arrangement has not been made for the people but tailored to the requirements of a single person or a group of persons.

He said an Assembly elected on partyless basis will not be able to deliver any goods and that is the reason his party opposed the elections on that basis.

He demanded immediate release of all political prisoners, withdrawal of cases against them, restoration of fundamental human rights and an end to Martial Law, which he termed as a "negation of Islamic tenets".

PAKISTAN

ASGHAR KHAN ASSAILS DENIAL OF BASIC RIGHTS

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 30 Mar 85 p 1

[Text]

LAHORE, March 29: Air Marshal (Retd) Asghar has said that the problem of basic human rights is deeply connected with the socio-economic and political system of society, and civil liberties are hard to achieve in a feudal set-up.

Addressing a largely attended meeting of the Human Rights Society after receiving a gold medal, he referred to the Nawabpur incident and the firing on industrial workers of Multan Colony Textile Mills in which 62 persons were killed, and said that both incidents reflected a feudal mentality. He remarked that in our society a privileged class, which had always enjoyed the backing of bureaucracy, took it as its right to suppress the poor,

downtrodden working class.

Mr. Asghar Khan said it must be kept in mind that so long as the exploiting class was not eliminated, basic human rights could not be guaranteed and the moneyed class would continue to deprive the masses of these rights. He emphasised that in this historical context it was necessary to bring about fundamental changes in the structure of our society.

Asghar Khan said that those who had laid down their lives for the cause of human rights and those who were sent to jails for their struggle in this regard actually deserved the Society's award much more than he did.

Referring to the Islamic concept of human rights he said that the Prophet Mohammad (PBUH) had come to this world for the guidance of the oppressed. Throughout his life he struggled for human rights and freedom of men and women, and for this very reason Islam caught the attention of the entire world. He referred to a saying of the Holy Prophet that to speak the truth before a cruel ruler was a 'crusade'.

The Tehrik leader said that today hundreds of men and women, heeding the voice of their conscience, were opposing an unjust system. In today's Pakistan, he said, even those basic rights were denied which were available under the British imperialists. He recalled a sedition case against Maulana Mohammad Ali Johar some 60 years ago in which the Maulana was awarded two-year imprisonment. Asghar Khan said that Maulana Johar was provided all legal facilities and was tried in an open court, whereas in a similar case Prof. Jameel Umar of Quaid-e-Azam University was tried in a military court and sentenced to seven years imprisonment. He said a large number of political and social workers were being kept in jail without trial for more than five years and yet it was claimed that Islamisation had been a success in Pakistan.

CSO: 5600/374

PAKISTAN

HURDLE OF POWER TRANSFER EXAMINED

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 30 Mar 85 p 4

[Article by Khalid Akhtar]

[Text]

The first phase of the transformation from military to civilian rule — which at this stage signifies nothing substantial in essence — has been completed quietly. There was none of the excitement that is usually associated with the proceedings of a parliament. And apart from the election of the Speaker of the National Assembly all other events (including the nomination of the Prime Minister and Chairman of the Senate) were rather a sedate affair. If this tempo is in any way a guide for the future it could be said that things for some time to come are likely to move at a leisurely pace.

It is indeed a unique experience seeing a Martial Law regime transferring actual authority to a civilian setup in bits and pieces. This has not happened anywhere in the world before. It is an untrodden path, and despite all the optimism shown by some quarters, it remains uncertain where Pakistan will eventually end up.

PM'S ADDRESS

Addressing the National Assembly after winning the vote of

confidence, the new Premier, Mr. Junejo, said "a civilian government cannot co-exist with martial law for a long time". This is indeed the crux of the matter and its solution cannot be postponed indefinitely. The time factor appears to have assumed a vital importance in the whole scenario. The transformation from a military to a civilian government has to be completed within a given time frame; in any case before martial law and representative rule come to a head-on collision and create a new crisis.

What has made a smooth transition more difficult is the fact that there remain too many ambiguities regarding the division of powers between the various organs in the amended constitutional framework. Barring the President, the powers of the Premier, the National Assembly and the Judiciary, remain uncertain and ambiguous. This state of affairs can at any stage create a vacuum and bring the whole process of transfer of power to a grinding halt.

However, in the background of too many uncertainties there remains one big plus point in the situation. The regime knows fully well that it must ensure the success of the new system and that it cannot afford a setback. Similarly, the elected members are well aware that their failure to come up to expectations would seal their political fate. How strong and durable this element of 'mutual compulsion' proves remains to be seen.

It is significant that so far the Martial Law authorities and the representative institutions have acted with restraint and well within the 'defined' limits. Mr. Junejo has refrained from mentioning issues (such as constitutional amendments) which could cause tension and vitiate the atmosphere at this early stage of the transformation. His 'manifesto' at the moment is more overwhelmingly economic in 'outlook' and less political in nature. However, he has laid emphasis on the revival of political parties and his successful initiative on this could bring a qualitative change in the situation.

It will be too early to predict in what shape the political parties will be revived. But nonetheless it will be a good starting point for Mr. Junejo if he helps to restore the parties.

'LIMELIGHT'

The Martial Law authorities appear keen to bring the Premier into the 'limelight'. And there are indications that, minus policy matters, the running of the day-to-day affairs of the State may be left to the Prime Minister's Secretariat very soon. But this is not enough. With the Parliament inducted the masses would like the Judiciary to be more independent, the Press more free and the common man enjoying basic fundamental rights.

But unfortunately the parliament has no power to bring about the desired change.

### MEANINGFUL

It is meaningful that some quarters have insisted on calling the Parliament Majlis-e-Shoora, thus stressing its advisory role. In a democratic setup Parliament is the supreme body and depriving it of its sovereign status would mean taking the life out of the system. It may be argued that giving the august House the name of Shoora means no more than a change in nomenclature. But this is not the case. The Shoora and the Parliament convey two different meanings - the former being an advisory and the latter a sovereign house. It will do us a lot of good if our perceptions are clear and we use the correct word to convey correct meanings. Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan, who is very careful in his remarks, has reportedly said that there is little to choose between the nominated Shoora of yesterday and the present Parliament. Ironically, the Government is itself responsible for creating these apprehensions.

The power-transfer programme has to be viewed in the background of some stiff opposition that it has met all along. Bureaucracy has

never favoured this and there may be some other quarters in the establishment whose views too may not be favourable. How these circles react as the stage for the actual transfer of authority is reached is of crucial importance. The political pundits say the issue will be decided within the first six months of the induction of a civilian government. The view that the lifting of Martial Law will mark the completion of the process of changeover is highly erroneous. In the final analysis it will be the quantum of power given to the Parliament that will make transfer of power meaningful. Any lesser exercise will create more problems than it will solve.

What Mr. Junejo achieves in days to come will depend largely on the extent of liberty he is allowed by the powers that be. Being the leader of the partyless House, his limitations are already great. It may be easy to control a disjointed House but such a body could hardly be a base for a sound and durable support. This situation has to be remedied. It is not clear what exactly is meant by 'transfer of power in phases'. If this signifies restoring to the Assembly its powers in parts the process must be started and completed earlier than being envisaged. This is the only way out of the crisis.

CSO: 4600/374



PAKISTAN

PRIME MINISTER URGED TO TRUST POLITICIANS, PARTIES

GF231312 Rawalpindi HAIDAR in Urdu 19 Apr 85 p 3

[Editorial: "Prime Minister Junejo's Statement"]

[Excerpts] Speaking to correspondents at Quetta Airport, Prime Minister Junejo has said, contrary to his previous stance, that the elected government has no need to hold negotiations [with politicians] although earlier he had repeatedly stated that his doors are open to politicians and that he desired their cooperation. He also stated previously that as soon as the provincial government is set up, the negotiations would begin.

The change in the prime minister's stance regarding negotiations with political parties might be correct as far as the government's point of view is concerned, yet it is a fact that the invitation for negotiations was extended by the government to the politicians and the government had expressed the need to obtain the cooperation of the politicians. It was due to the government's generosity that the MRD Central Committee was permitted to convene its session in Karachi. On the national level, a consensus of opinion and negotiations with the politicians are important and instrumental in furthering mutual understanding. But the politicians or the government should not make holding of negotiations a point of honor. If the government offers to hold negotiations to promote more understanding, there is no stigma attached to it, as the initiative for talks comes from the government.

In the national interest and unity we appeal to Prime Minister Junejo and his associates that they should endeavor to solve national problems on the national basis and to hold discussions with all political elements without delay. In the light of the dangers looming on the horizon, and the internal national situation, it is imperative that the prime minister take the initiative in taking the politicians into confidence, promoting law and order, and thus maintain peace in the country.

CSO: 4656/116

PAKISTAN

'SLOGAN OF CONFEDERATION' DISCUSSED

GF011830 Karachi MASHRIQ in Urdu 23 Apr 85 p 3

[Editorial: "Need for a Wider National Understanding"]

[Excerpts] Prime Minister Junejo has said that Pakistan at present is passing through a transitional period and a real democracy will be set up soon. He said: "It is my duty to lift martial law; as for the time it is to be lifted, let the decision for this rest with me." He added: "I know my duty." He expressed the hope that, God willing, restoration of democracy and the introduction of the Islamic system, which was the basis for creating Pakistan, will materialize soon. He appealed to the public to wholeheartedly cooperate with the elected regime and not take any notice of misleading slogans. The prime minister has acknowledged that it is not an easy job to restore democracy anew on a solid and positive basis, but he assured that his government will succeed in carrying out this job.

It is obvious that the time referred to is not far off, but even in this transitional period some elements are making some baseless and vociferous demands and their real aim is not the revival of the 1973 Constitution but to fan misleading slogans of a confederation, sovereignty of various ethnic groups, socialism, and secularism, under the cover of the demand for the revival of the 1973 Constitution. However, it is somewhat hopeful that the MRD, under the influence of its leadership, which subscribes to moderation, has expressed caution in three [as published] things:

(1) The MRD has declared that it will start no new agitation within the country. This is a commendable decision because confrontation within the country in any form is intolerable. (2) The MRD has avoided the demand to form a new constituent assembly on the basis of the 1940 resolution [the Muslim League party resolution of 1940 demanding the creation of Pakistan--FBIS]. Such a demand would have started new mischief and it is the desire of some extremists to see the country again plunged into the difficulties of a country without a constitution and to destroy the unity of the Muslim ummah. These elements have since long been chanting the slogans of racism, lingualism, and provincialism. Some of these elements have even dared to chant the slogan of confederation, but for the time being this slogan has not been accepted by the MRD.

Ghulam Mostafa Jatoi has declared that the PPP too does not believe in the slogan of a confederation and that it has no link with the London-based Sindhi-Baluch-Pathan Front. Asghar Khan too has said that the confederation slogan is meaningless and has announced that he would oppose it politically. We think that this slogan is a blackmail effort by no more than a handful of extremists and it should be given no importance. This slogan will die its own death and no section of the public will accept it.

Nevertheless, the nation should note that whenever the enemies of Pakistan try to create unrest in the country, they adopt the Soviet-coined slogans of "autonomy of the ethnic groups", and by blaming the major province of Punjab for all the troubles in the country, they fan the fire of provincial prejudices in the smaller provinces. Some of these elements for fear of being condemned by public opinion are crouching under the MRD cover, and others have raised the issue of a confederation within the framework of Pakistan. But this slogan has absolutely no basis and Asghar Khan also has declared it a "bogus" slogan and has rejected it. Mian Mumtaz Daulatana also has pointed out the coarseness of this slogan by explaining that a confederation is set up of different divisions of an independent country. A system of confederation is usually adopted by independent countries by joining together in a loose form. Pakistan has the status of a separate and independent country for the Muslims of the subcontinent and therefore the slogan of a confederation contradicts the very concept which led to the creation of Pakistan.

Our only object in this analysis is that now that preliminary steps toward a full-fledged democracy have been taken, and these steps are being taken within the framework of the 1973 Constitution, the political parties should abstain from adopting any extreme measures. All of the country's problems should be left to the discretion of the newly elected government and the assemblies. Differences of view exist in every democratic society and this is the criterion for a democratic society. However, every difference should be within the accepted principles of the nation. If the object is to revive democratic principles in the country or to further strengthen the federal status of Pakistan, then this job should be left to the newly elected government. After all, this government has been elected by popular vote and is not free from the pressure of public opinion. Therefore, it behooves the political parties to abstain from adopting a negative attitude toward the government, nor should they express any doubts about its sincerity and character. Martial law is about to end and democracy will take over. Thus, the disputed national issues will be resolved automatically and in the best interests of the country. There is no need for confrontation in the country. However, there are a handful of elements both within and without the MRD who are sitting in ambush to attack the national unity. The patriotic elements in the country should remain vigilant.

CSO: 4656/125

PAKISTAN

COMMENTARY REVIEWS BANDUNG CONFERENCE

GF291102 Karachi DAWN in English 26 Apr 85 p 15

[Editorial: "Bandung--30 Years After"]

[Text] The delegates from 90 or so African and Asian countries who gathered at Bandung late last week to commemorate the thirtieth anniversary of the Afro-Asian conference must have had more than a historical landmark to contemplate. Although the world has come a long way from that memorable day in April 1955 when 29 leaders assembled at Bandung and signed the ten-point declaration that became a milestone in international politics, many of the hopes aroused 30 years ago have remained elusive.

In spite of a more difficult international situation, the insignificant number of independent Afro-Asian countries and the greater leverage of the Western powers in world affairs in the mid-fifties, the Bandung conference chalked up quite a few tangible achievements and created a lasting impact on international politics. For the first time, the countries of Africa and Asia found that they could make their voices heard in the world forums if they acted in unison.

Bandung provided a focus of orientation to their policies and by formulating a common approach they became a powerful force in global affairs. This was quite obvious in the post-Bandung years when China emerged on the Asian scene, the process of decolonization gathered momentum and, above all, the non-aligned movement was born at Belgrade in 1961. Had it not been for the Bandung principles to which the Afro-Asians came to subscribe--respect for fundamental human rights, sovereignty, and territory of all races and non-intervention in the affairs of other countries--Third World nations and peoples would not have found the strength which helped them change the course of world events to the extent they have.

But the spirit which was born in Bandung in 1955 could not sustain itself for long and was soon overtaken by the bitter conflicts and differences which divide the Afro-Asian countries today. That the divisive forces have proved to be stronger than the unifying factors was clearly established within the first ten years of Bandung when the second Afro-Asian conference, planned to be held in Algiers in 1965, had to be called off.

Today, the divisions and conflicts among the countries of Africa and Asia are even stronger than before. Moreover, big power rivalries inevitably cast their shadows on the Afro-Asian scene. It is significant that nearly all the major wars currently being fought in the world are in Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

The arms race among the countries of the Third World is no less intense or burdensome in terms of GNP percentage than in the earlier decades or among the rival power elites. The struggle for economic emancipation which logically came in the wake of decolonization has been by and large a losing battle for the Afro-Asians primarily because they have failed to resolve their differences and unite against the industrialized countries.

The conference that has just concluded at Bandung may well have provided an occasion for the Afro-Asians to review their record of the last three decades. If the deliberations succeed in creating a new awareness of the need for greater cohesion in the ranks of Third World countries and for more meaningfully pursuing the original spirit and objectives of the 1955 conference, all will not have been lost. The issues demanding their collective attention--disarmament, cultural cooperation, economic emancipation, and a new world information order--are no doubt of vital significance, but what is more important is the approach and strategy adopted in dealing with them. If the Afro-Asians can manage to resuscitate the spirit which guided them at Bandung thirty years ago, they could still resolve many of the problems that plague them today and that keep them as a group at the raw end of the deal vis-a-vis the affluent and politically and militarily powerful nations.

CSO: 4600/411

PAKISTAN

COMMENTARY VIEWS MAHBUBUL HAQ'S TAKING OVER FINANCE MINISTRY

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 30 Mar 85 p 4

[Article by Aslam Sheikh]

[Text]

ISLAMABAD— Whatever the final shape of the new 'political' Cabinet later this week, two key technocrats — Sahabzada Yakub Khan and Dr. Mahbubul Haq — seem assured of their permanent place in the post-election order. Of the two, however, it is the re-induction of Dr. Haq that represents a significant break with the immediate past. He has now moved into a Ministry which plays a predominant role in the whole power structure.

As Finance Minister, Dr. Haq now replaces a man who not only dominated the economic policy-making over the past eight years but also represented the bureaucratic elite which has monopolised this sector virtually for three decades, barring three years when PPP's key theoretician, Dr. Mubashar Hasan, was at the helm of the Finance Ministry. During Pakistan's first decade, economic policy was above all influenced by bureaucrats like Ghulam Mohammad and Ch. Mohammad Ali and the second decade by Mohammad Shoaib, who also originally came from the same class though later re-groomed for the position after long years in the World Bank. In between politicians like Amjad Ali, Muzaffar Ali Qizilbash or Rana Hanif were only

stop-gap arrangements. During the difficult last years of undivided Pakistan in 1968-71, it was again a bureaucrats like M. M. Ahmad who reigned supreme in economic policy making.

During the sixties, Dr. Haq did exercise some influence in economic policy-making as Chief Economist of the Planning Commission, but his was not the decisive role. It is perhaps for the first time that a professional economist has been elevated to the powerful office of Finance Minister. Many are tempted to regard it as the rise of a new technocratic elite as against the old bureaucratic variety in the conservative citadel of the Ministry of Finance. To what extent Dr. Haq's ascent to this powerful position represents a realignment of new and old elites in the power structure is yet to be seen.

As the first development economist-turned-Finance-Minister, Dr. Haq has no easy assignment to handle, particularly when new pulls and pressures of an elected Assembly will also be operating, besides those from the well-entrenched interests outside. He is not without his critics and detractors in the corridors of powers. He has also to live down his long World Bank connection. During the last four years, in the closed-door battle of ideas between the Planning Commission he presided over and the Finance Ministry, his was not always the last word, particularly on the

dimensions of the development programme and the methods to mobilise new resources to finance it.

Often he has also been criticised for shifts in posture on certain important issues.

Nonetheless as a new face in the Ministry of Finance in a difficult period of economic transition, he certainly will arouse many expectations. Indeed now he will not only be expected to conceive — as he primarily did as Planning Minister — but also to deliver. Partly, he has himself stimulated interest in implementing some of the ideas he articulated eloquently and repeatedly over the past four years. The longstanding overhaul of the taxation system has been his perpetual theme. He knows who are paying more than they can bear and who manage to get away with enormous taxable surpluses which are ultimately wasted on ostentatious consumption. He knows whose incomes need to be indexed to the rising graph of cost of living and how to re-direct speculative gains into productive savings. He knows too what kind of agricultural incomes can be taxed without impairing agricultural productivity. And he certainly comprehends clearly what kind of new equilibrium needs to be struck between shrinking development outlay and the rising expenditure of the pampered parasites of the public and private sectors. He should know too how to

release the creative energies of genuine small and medium-sized private enterprises not only through well-thought-out deregulation but also by containing the inroads of multinationals by curbing free-for-all imports. Above all, he knows what forces fetter quick agricultural and industrial production and the dire need for scientific land reforms and a new deal for industrial labour and low-paid employees.

But knowing is one thing and acting another. Much will depend on what kind of freedom and manoeuvrability he enjoys to implement new ideas in a political environment still dominated by well-known vested interests of the old and new variety. His initiatives in economic policy will also hinge on what kind of politico-economic posture, the new Prime Minister, still inhibited by the continuation of Martial Law, adopts for the budget session. In spite of these constraints, the economist Dr. Haq has an important role to play in the weeks and months to come. While his professional expertise should be a great asset to him in financial management, let him also dispel a widely-held view in some quarters that professional economists seldom make good managers of finance. The complex emerging economic situation — shrinking remittances and resistance to new taxation at home — also confront him with a formidable challenge. He will need plenty of fiscal ingenuity as well as courage to provide a widely-acceptable response to this situation in not too distant a future.

CSO: 4600/374

PAKISTAN

LAWYERS PLAN BODY TO OPPOSE AMENDMENTS

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 30 Mar 85

[Text]

LAHORE, March 29: Participants at a conference of all the Bar Councils of the country while resolving to continue their struggle for the lifting of Martial law, restoration of the 1973 Constitution and withdrawal of the recent amendments in the Legal Practitioners and Bar Councils Act 1973 today decided to constitute a National Lawyers' Action Committee to be headed by Vice Chairman Pakistan Bar Council in order to regulate the struggle of lawyers.

The Committee will comprise Vice Chairman of the Provincial Bar Councils and the Presidents of High Court Bar Associations. The conference requested the NWFP Bar Council members to withhold their resignations from the respective councils until a collective decision in this behalf is taken by all the Bar Councils. The conference while stressing the need of a free Press in the country demanded repeal of Press and Publications Ordinance and unconditional reinstatement of 10 Lahore journalists of NPT newspapers sacked in September 1984 for endorsing the struggle for the restoration of democracy in the country. It was also announced on behalf of the Punjab Bar Council that a convention of lawyers will be held at Lahore on April 19 to be participated by the

President and Secretaries of all the Bars in the Province and by the members of Pakistan Bar Council from Punjab. Black flags shall continue to be hoisted on the buildings of Punjab Bar Council as well as High Court and District Bars till then. Protest meetings will be held every Thursday in the Bar premises.

The conference hosted by the Punjab Bar Council was presided over by Abdul Haleem Pirzada, Vice Chairman, Pakistan Bar Council, Qadir Bakhsh Bhutto, Vice Chairman, Sind Bar Council and Mohammad Akram Sheikh, Vice Chairman Punjab Bar Council. The speakers sharply criticised the recent amendments in Legal Practitioners and Bar Councils Act and described the amendment order a part of a larger plan designed to destroy democratic institutions in the country.

The conference, through a petition, reiterated lawyers demand for complete restoration of democratic order in the country. It also demanded that Martial Law should be lifted and military courts abolished forthwith, all the cases decided by the present military courts be reviewed or sent to the ordinary courts for retrial, all the amendments made in the Constitution of 1973, after 5th July, 1977, should be immediately withdrawn and the 1973 Constitution should be restored in its

letter and spirit, the full powers and authority of the judiciary in the country should be restored under the Constitution of 1973 and laws framed thereunder. All the oppressive laws for preventive detention and restricting the civil lives and liberties of the citizens of Pakistan should be withdrawn immediately and those persons who are detained or arrested under such laws should be set free forthwith. The conference also demanded immediate release of political detenus in general and lawyers detenus in particular, throughout the country.

In another resolution the conference called upon the government to withdraw the amendments made in the Legal Practitioners and Bar Councils Act, in 1982 and 1985, failing which the struggle for their withdrawal will be continued, and appropriate ways and means will be adopted to accomplish this end.

The conference also called upon all the Provincial Bar Councils to hold representative conventions of the office bearers of all the Bar Associations in their respective provinces to make them join in the joint struggle for the withdrawal of the unnecessary amendments by the present Martial Law regime in the year 1982 and again in 1985.

CSO: 4600/374



PAKISTAN

## MRD LEADER ASSAILS AMENDMENTS

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 30 Mar 85 p 8

[Text]

KARACHI, March 29: Khwaja Khairuddin, Secretary-General, MRD, has said the arbitrary amendments introduced on March 2 have fully justified the MRD's stand not to participate in the elections.

Talking to 'The Muslim' today following his release yesterday he said through amendments in the 1973 Constitution the Assembly has been deprived of its independence and sovereignty and the judiciary rendered ineffective as almost all the powers have been concentrated in the President.

He said the assertion that the Assembly has the power to knock out the amendments is no more than an illusion because the National Assembly has first to seek the permission of the President to move a bill to undo any of the amendment.

Referring to reports that the new Prime Minister wants to hold talks with the Opposition leaders, he said, only MRD's Central Committee can take a decision on the matter. However, he said, he will not close doors on a person who come to see him.

Khawaja Sahib said how can

there be talks with the Government when it was still keeping hundreds of political workers behind the bars, has imposed restrictions on leaders' movements, deprived the judiciary of its powers, and imposed curbs on the Press.

He said there is no justification to detain leaders like Meiraj Mohammad Khan, Makhdoom Khaliq Zaman, Rasool Bakhsh Palejo, and Fazil Rahu.

Khawaja Khairuddin said the new arrangement has deprived the provinces of their autonomy and the report that the military Governors of the provinces have been given an year's extension further proves the point.

He said one can hardly expect fruitful work by the Assemblies if Martial Law remains enforced, and fundamental rights remain suspended.

The MRD leader said he has a feeling that the fate of the amended constitution will be similar to that of the constitution imposed by former President Ayub Khan, perhaps worse, because the latter at least withdrew Martial Law. He strongly condemned the murder of a MRD activist Syed Shahid Hussain and the theft at the residence of Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi.

CSO: 4600/374

PAKISTAN

ASGHAR KHAN CALLS FOR TRANSFER OF POWER TO MRD

GF291416 Karachi DAWN in English 23 Apr 85 p 8

[Excerpts] Quetta, April 22--Air Marshal (Ret) Asghar Khan, chief of defunct Tehrik-i-Istaqlal has called for transfer of power to MRD without any delay if the country was to be saved from being further damaged and said that a great harm had been done to national unity during the past eight years' "dictatorial rule" in Pakistan.

The country, he added, had suffered a lot on economical, social and political fronts with freedom of people to express themselves curbed by the authority in power.

Defunct Tehrik-i-Istaqlal chief, who was addressing members of Baluchistan Bar Association in district courts bar room in Quetta on Monday said that if power was transferred to MRD "we promise to hold elections in the country within four months under election rules laid down in the 1973 Constitution as they stood for 1977 polls."

Mr Asghar Khan said that the present government had pushed the country into a critical situation on its western borders due to wrong foreign policy and added that "although we condemn Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, yet, at the same time, we want that Pakistan should have direct talks with the Kabul government to settle the issue." He was of the view that there was no harm in having contact with Kabul and said that it could be done without recognizing the Afghan government.

Referring to recent elections held on a non-party basis, Mr Asghar Khan said these elections had divided the nation as they were held on tribal and linguistic bases. Much harm had been done to the country by holding elections on a non-party basis, he said, and added that the unfortunate incidents which occurred a few days back in Karachi were, in fact, the outcome of these elections.

Mr Asghar Khan said that Pakistan should have a people's army and added that military power should rest with the people.

CSO: 4600/411

PAKISTAN

# MRD SESSION ADOPTS 'WAIT AND SEE' STRATEGY

GF231333 Karachi DAWN in English 20 Apr 85 p 12

[Excerpt] Karachi, 19 Apr--The MRD Central Action Committee ended its four-day record session here on Friday with a victory for the protagonists of "wait and see" strategy.

A consensus, according to informed sources, emerged after hours of discussions that the MRD "for a specific period" drop the idea of confronting the elected parliamentarians and, instead, let them "have it out" with the president regarding fulfillment of the promises held out to the electorate.

As a corollary, though Mr Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi's 14-point charter of demands was endorsed, his call (in the event of non-acceptance of demands) for fresh election for a constituent assembly to frame a new constitution on the basis of the Pakistan Resolution of 1940 was allowed to lay dormant for the time being.

Over half a dozen resolutions adopted at the MRD session will be released tomorrow (Saturday) afternoon at a press briefing at Mr Jatoi's residence.

The main point which consumed major part of free and frank discussions was whether the 1973 Constitution stood abrogated on account of the president's constitutional amendments or it was still extant. Finally, the opinion prevailed that the Constitution was not "dead" as the National Assembly (though unrecognised from the MRD's point of view) had not yet compromised its sovereign position.

The MRD leadership reportedly did not set a deadline for the elected representatives to get the 1973 Constitution restored in its original form and substance, but sources indicate a period of three to four months may suffice. More particularly, the parliamentarians' performance in the next month's budget session will be watched with keen interest.

However, an MRD leader remarked that the parliamentarians would be judged for what they would believe on the floor of the House and not for what they would speak there.

On the question of provincial autonomy the general view was that all residuary powers should vest with the provinces and that there should be a firm guarantee that the centre's powers would not be misused.

The MRD high command is understood to have directed the 11-member committee, headed by Malik Mohammad Qasim, to examine the quantum of provincial autonomy thoroughly and submit its report by 15 June next.

The "wait and see" policy appeared more palatable to the MRD leaders in view of the psychological change following the induction of a civilian government. The allowance given to the MRD leaders to get together for a full-dress session and also to freely move about and hold workers' meetings, though within the precincts, has encouraged the party heads of the 11-member alliance to utilize the time for their respective organizational drive.

CSO: 4600/394

PAKISTAN

BRIEFS

HIGH LEVEL JOBS RESHUFFLED--Islamabad, April 9--The Cabinet Secretariat Tuesday announced the reshuffle of some senior Federal Secretaries, including the Secretary of Information, Lt-Gen Mujibur Rahman Khan, whose services have been replaced at the disposal of the Defence Ministry without specifying his future posting. The other Secretaries who have been moved are Mr Izharul Haque, the Commerce Secretary and Mr Mukhtar Masud, the Petroleum and Natural Resources Secretary. They are going to exchange their posts with Mr Mukhtar Masud taking over as Commerce Secretary and Mr Izharul Haque taking over as Secretary in the Ministry of Petroleum and Natural Resources. Mr Mohammad Anwar Zahid who had recently been posted to the Prime Minister's Secretariat to act as its Secretary, will return to the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting as Additional Secretary and will look after the work of Secretary till further orders. Gen Mujibur Rahman was in Karachi on Tuesday and not available for information as to his next post. It is, however, believed that as a professional soldier, Gen Mujib would prefer to go back to active service in the Army. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 10 Apr 85 p 1]

RESTRICTIONS ON LEADERS LIFTED--Karachi, April 9--Restrictions on the movements of Mir Ghous Bakhsh Bizenjo, president of the defunct Pakistan National Party, and Mir Sher Mohammad Marri were removed by the Baluchistan government on Tuesday. Mir Ghous Bakhsh Bizenjo was confined to his home village Nal, some 280 miles from Karachi, after the MRD decided to boycott the general elections at its Abbottabad meeting on Jan 20 last. Mr Bizenjo attended the meeting of the Central Committee of MRD at Abbottabad and following the decision to boycott the elections, he was externed from the NWFP. When he reached Karachi, he was also externed from Sind by the provincial government. He went to Quetta, where he was arrested while holding talks with party colleagues. He was taken to Nal, where he was confined till Tuesday. Mir Sher Mohammad Marri is currently admitted in the Civil Hospital Quetta, where he is undergoing treatment. His movements were confined to the jurisdiction of the Quetta Municipal Corporation, as he made attempts to visit his home village, Kohlu. Restrictions were placed on his movement after the MRD movement in the country. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 10 Apr 85 p 1]

DIRECTIVE TO DEPUTY COMMISSIONERS--Hyderabad, April 9--Governor of Sind Lt. Gen. Jahandad Khan has desired that all the deputy commissioners should hold monthly meetings with the members of Provincial Assembly of their respective district, which should also be attended by the district heads of

nation building departments. The first meeting in this connection will be held on April 10. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 10 Apr 85 p 2]

BOOK ON QADIANI FAITH--Islamabad, April 9--A book containing basic information about "Qadianism" is being published by the Ministry of Religious Affairs, a spokesman for the Ministry said on Monday. The book will consist of basic facts on "Qadianism" with relevant documents and references. Besides a number of thoughts about Qadiani religion, the book will highlight the differences between Islam and Qadianism, impact of Qadianism on Muslim Ummah and effects of recent legislation on this religion in Pakistan. "Deviations of Qadianis from Islam" will also be described at length in the book, the spokesman said and added that the book will be distributed not only within Pakistan but abroad also.--APP [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 10 Apr 85 p 2]

ALLEGED QADIANI PROPAGANDA DEPLORED--Islamabad, April 12--The Majilis-e-Tehafuze Khatme Nabuwat of Islamabad and Dera Ismail Khan have strongly condemned the anti-Islam and Pakistan propaganda by the Qadianis supported by the BBC. In a resolution passed after Juma prayers at all the mosques of Rawalpindi and Islamabad the Majlis demanded of the government to bring back Mirza Tahir, the Qadiani leader, to Pakistan through Interpol and try him on the charge of high treason. It also protested the Federal Capital administration's efforts to undo the Khatme Nabuwat Conference held at Lal Masjid on March 22. It also demanded that the Govt. should take practical steps counter apostasy and enforce Shariat punitive laws to curb the menace. The Majlis also appealed the newly elected Parliament to raise the issue in the Assembly session.--PR [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 13 Apr 85 p 1]

BENAZIR ON BY-ELECTIONS--Multan, April 12--Miss Benazir Bhutto, acting Chairman of defunct PPP, has asked her party leaders and workers to eschew controversy and boycott the by-elections for the National and Provincial Assemblies. Authentic sources told THE MUSLIM that PPP would not take part in any elections to be held under the supervision of the present regime. However, it would not betray the MRD decisions and would follow its mandate. The sources said that PPP was not in favour of holding any dialogue with a 'powerless Prime Minister who is speaking the language of General Zia.' The sources said that PPP would present its point of view before the MRD's Central Committee in its session to be held on April 16 at the residence of Khawaja Khairuddin in Karachi. In her detailed directive, Miss Benazir Bhutto asked her party leaders in Pakistan to motivate other components of MRD for a revision of its strategy to meet the post-election challenge. The sources further said that PPP would support those MNAs who agree to wage a struggle for the return of a genuine civilian and democratic order, as PPP had no quarrel with the elected members. [By Adbul Sattar Qamar] [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 13 Apr 85 p 6]

MRD SAID MORE UNITED--Lahore, April 12--Sheikh Rafiq Ahmad, a leader of the defunct PPP said here today that the MRD was more united than ever and pressing forward with its struggle for the restoration of complete democratic order in the country. Addressing a reception, hosted in honour of MRD leaders and workers recently released from the detention at Lahore township, Sh. Rafiq

Ahmad defended the MRD decision of boycotting the elections and said even preliminary developments witnessed at the assemblies have testified the foresightedness of the 11 party alliance for not becoming a party to the futile exercise under Martial Law umbrella. He called upon the workers, peasants, students and others to join the democratic struggle. Newly nominated President of defunct PPP Punjab, Sh. Rafiq Ahmad in his speech stressed the need for more unity among party ranks. Jehangir Ashraf Venus of PDP, Perviaz Inayat Malik of MKP and Dr. Ali Ahmad Tahir of NDP also addressed the gathering and pledged to work unitedly for the restoration of democracy. Present at the reception were Rana Shaukat Mahmud, a former provincial Minister, Mian Ehsanul Haq, a former Senator, Ishtiaq Bokhari and others. Malid Saeedud Din, a trade union leader, presided over the meeting. [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 13 Apr 85 p 8]

**JOURNALISTS RESENT STATEMENT--**Jhang, March 23: Six leading journalists of the City have expressed grave concern over the statement of Sh. Mohammad Yousaf, MPA alleging that he had given illegal-gratification of Rs. 2000 each to twenty local journalists. These journalists, in their statement have said that Sh. Yousaf had dishonoured the whole journalists' community and the journalists, who had performed their duties honestly and impartially during the elections were deeply shocked by the alleged statement of Sh. Yousaf MPA include Shahmaz Tabassum (Nawa-e-Waqt) Iqbal Shaheen (Jang) General Secretary Press Club, Syed Riaz Hussain (Imroze) Vice-President, Jhang Union of Journalists, Abdus Sattar (Dawn) Basharat Anjum (The Muslim) and Qadir Ahmed, Hasan Maasoom. [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 24 Mar 85 p 6]

**SMALLER PROVINCES FRONT--**London, March 29: A political organisation called the Sindh Pashtun Baluchistan Front comprising political exiles from the three minority provinces is expected to be launched here this week, according to reliable sources. The Sind Baluchistan Committee, formed in London in 1983, which has functioned as an essentially cultural forum, will be incorporated in the new front. The chief adm of the new organisation will be to press for the achievement of the right of self-determination of ethnic groups including equal participation in a loose federal or confederal system. Those likely to join the new front include Sardar Attaullah Mengal MKP leader Afzal Bagash and PPP leaders Mumtaz Bhutto, Hafeez Pirzada and Jam Sadiq Ali. Informed sources say that conveners will be appointed in Pakistan who will lead the struggle for the "historic rights of national minorities within an all Pakistan framework". According to these sources, the front is being constituted abroad because the ban on parties continues at home. Mumtaz Bhutto, who is due to return to the country shortly, is likely to be appointed convener for Pakistan, while Hafeez Pirzada will probably be Secretary General of the organisation. It is uncertain at this stage how these leaders will reconcile their membership of this organisation with their party identities and role as PPP leaders. [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 30 Mar 85 p 1]

**WOMEN STAGE WALKOUT**---Lahore, March 29: The Democratic Women Association staged a walkout from the Human Rights award distribution ceremony, when a message from Deane Hinton, Ambassador United State was read out. A delegation of DWA led by Mrs. Tahira Mazhar Ali Khan took a serious view of the message saying that it was "quite ironical that a message should be sought and ready from the Ambassador of the country which was responsible for violation of Human Rights in Pakistan in the meeting of the organisation claiming to be struggling for restoration of the rights. [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 30 Mar 85 p 1]

**ON SINDHI PRIME MINISTER**---Lahore, March 29: Abdul Haleem Pirzada, Vice Chairman Pakistan Bar Council, observed here today that mere appointment of a Sindhi as Prime Minister would do little in removing the sense of deprivation among the people of that province. Talking to newsmen here today he said that as had been expressed by various public figures the new parliament, though elected by the people, stood divested of its powers as a sovereign body. Similarly a nominated Prime Minister also lacked powers enjoyed by the persons holding this office in a democratic system. The people, he said, feel that those elected to the new parliament could hardly deliver the goods in the prevailing conditions. [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 30 Mar 85 p 8]

**ASGHAR CHAIRS PARTY MEETING**---Rawalpindi, March 27: Retired Air Marshal Asghar Khan, chief of the defunct Tehrik-i-Istiqlal, chaired an important meeting of the party here today. Mian Mahmud Ali Kasuri, Mr Asif Faseehudin Wardak, Malik Hamid Sarfraz, Mr Fazil Bhatti and a few others attended the meeting. The issues which came under discussion were not known. The ailing Tehrik leader, Mian Kasuri, was specially driven from the Combined Military Hospital to the Tahrik Secretary-General's residence to attend the meeting. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 28 Mar 85 p 8]

**WHEAT FOR REFUGEES**---Islamabad, March 27: The World Food Programme (WFP) has pledged additional emergency food assistance of 85,000 tons of wheat and 1,300 tons of edible fat to meet partially the emergency food needs of the Afghan refugees in Pakistan during 1985. The total cost of this commitment is US\$18.016 million. This is the third commitment made by WFP during the year 1985, says a UNIC release. With this pledge, the total WFP assistance through multilateral channels to Afghan refugees in Pakistan since January 1980 amounts to about \$346.4 million, consisting of 1,081,866 tons wheat, 47,766 tons e. oil, 38.213 tons D.S. Milk and 11,500 tons Dates. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 28 Mar 85 p 1]

**ART EXHIBIT IN USSR**---Islamabad, 18 Apr--Soviet ambassador Vitaliy Smirnov, who on Thursday visited the Young Artists' exhibition currently being held at Iqbal Hall here has offered to arrange a similar exhibition in the Soviet Union and exchanged views with some of the participant artists. The exhibition has been arranged by the Young Artists Association, Punjab, which held its first collective show in Lahore three years ago. Mr Smirnov hoped that better understanding between the peoples of the Soviet Union and Pakistan could be developed through an exchange of young artists' work between the two countries. In this connection, he offered to arrange the current exhibition to be shown throughout the Soviet Union. [Excerpts] [Karachi DAWN in English 18 Apr 85 p 5]



COPPER DEPOSITS FOUND--In north Waziristan agency, 120 million tons of copper deposits have been found, and further investigations are in progress to identify more in the area. This has been stated by the federal minister for commerce, petroleum, and natural resources, Mr Salim Saifullah Khan, while addressing a meeting in Lakki Tenhsil [revenue area] of Bannu district today. [Excerpt] [Karachi Domestic Service in English 1005 GMT 25 Apr 85 BK]

U.S. ENVOY'S REMARKS CRITICIZED--Lahore, April 27--The Information Secretary of the outlawed Pakistan Mazdoor Kisan Party [PMKP] has criticized the recent statement of the U.S. ambassador criticizing the MRD's view on Afghanistan and termed it as an interference in the internal affairs of Pakistan. In a press statement here on Saturday, the PMKP leader said the U.S. ambassador had no right, whatsoever, to "issue instructions". Mr Saeed Umar Khan said the Pakistani people would never permit the use of their land to promote American interests nor would they ever become American stooges. Had Mr Deane Hinton made such a statement, while a democratic government was in power in Pakistan, he would have been expelled from the country, the PMKP leader said. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 28 Apr 85 p 10]

DEPARTING PHILIPPINE AMBASSADOR--The outgoing ambassador of the Philippines, Mr Pedro Angara-Aragon, made a farewell call on President Mohammad Ziaul Haq in Islamabad this afternoon. On this occasion, the president conferred the award of Sitara-i-Pakistan on Mr Angara-Aragon in recognition of his meritorious services to the promotion of greater understanding and friendship between Pakistan and the Philippines. [Excerpt] [Karachi Domestic Service in English 1700 GMT 29 Apr 85]

SOVIET AMBASSADOR IN MULTAN--The Soviet ambassador in Pakistan, Mr Smirnov, spoke on the reasons for not holding a press conference. He expressed his indignation at a NAWA-E WAQT report, saying that this newspaper had reported that he had attended a session of the "Funrama" [arts society] at Multan and that he also made a speech. He added that he had only attended the reception and had already enumerated the reasons for not holding a press conference. He also accused the PAKISTAN TIMES of the same thing. Mr Smirnov said: I visited many historical sites in Multan and I met the people as well. If the Soviet and Pakistani Governments agree, I would like to move the Soviet Embassy from Islamabad to Multan, as the city has impressed me so much. He added: Multan's people, culture, and civilisation resemble that of the southern parts of the Soviet Union. He expressed satisfaction that the city of Multan had been chosen for the power plant to be built with Soviet assistance. He told the correspondents that if they desired an interview, they should bring their tape recorders to Islamabad and publish the interview without changes. [Text] [Lahore NAWA-E WAQT in Urdu 16 Apr 85 p 10]